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JPRS-UKO-84-008

9 April 1984

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 2, January 1984

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9 April 1984

# USSR REPORT

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 2, January 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 2.  
January 1984

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "Pravda"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : January 1984

Signed to press : 23 Jan 84

Copies : 915,000

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"Kommunist", 1984

TO THE FRENCH 'APPEAL OF 100' MOVEMENT

PM121740 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)

p 3

[Message by Yu. V. Andropov]

[Text] "It was with much attention that I studied your message in which you speak of the French people's profound concern over the drastic aggravation of the international situation and its growing resolve to struggle for the causes of peace.

The activities of the your movement, taking part in which are representatives of various public and political circles of France, people prominent in your country's culture and science, veterans of the French resistance, are known in the Soviet Union.

Indeed the danger of nuclear war increases as a result of the commenced deployment of new American missiles in Europe. And, of course, you rightly raise the question of removing the obstacles, impeding the solution of problems of nuclear disarmament in Europe at a negotiating table. The Soviet Union is also for removing such obstacles. The main of them--and the entire course of the Geneva talks proves this--are the attempts of the United States and its allies to achieve military superiority. That is exactly why the United States turned the talks in Geneva into a screen for covering up its plans of deploying at all cost the new first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe. And when the United States started the actual deployment of its missiles, continuation of the talks in these conditions would have been tantamount to complicity in deceiving the European and world public. Any unbiased person will understand this.

So the United States and those of its NATO partners who supported the deployment of new American missiles on European soil bear the entire responsibility for the situation that has developed.

We fully appreciate the French people's mounting concern for the future of our continent expressed in your message. I shall not conceal that the main concern of Soviet people today is also to remove the threat of a nuclear war. But we hold that the obtaining situation is not irreversible. The Soviet leadership has already stated in utter clarity that if readiness is expressed on the part of the NATO countries to return to the situation that existed prior to the start of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe,

the USSR will likewise be ready to do that. In that case, naturally, the need for the reply measures which the Soviet Union and our allies are forced [vynuzhdenny] to take now and which are equal in scale [ravnovelike] threat being created by the deployment of new U.S. missiles in direct proximity to our countries would be obviated.

Both previously and today we are of the opinion that not a single opportunity and not a single chance should be missed for a return to the path of talks with a view to reducing nuclear armaments both in the West and in the East on the only really existing basis--on the basis of parity and equal security. The peoples of European countries and the public at large are called upon to play an increasingly important role in that.

I would like all the French women and men firmly to believe that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue a course towards peace, detente and friendship among the peoples and, sparing no efforts, will seek an end to the arms race, the nuclear arms race, in the first place.

I wish you successes in your lofty activities for the deliverance of Europe and our entire planet from the thickened clouds of nuclear danger."

[signed] Yuriy Andropov

[dated] January 12, 1984

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CSO: 1802/8

## THE WORLD AT A RESPONSIBLE CROSSROADS

AU130900 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)  
pp 4-15

[Editorial]

[Text] Today the problem of problems has arisen before the world's peoples with unprecedented acuteness--the problem of defending with every available means at their disposal mankind's right to life and to existence itself. Such is the critical crossroads to which the aggressive forces of a dying social system--capitalism--have brought the world community of nations with their irresponsible actions. Never before have such huge material and human resources been mobilized in preparation for war, as today, and never before has such frankly misanthropic propaganda been conducted as that now being developed by these forces, headed by the U.S. reactionary ruling clique. In an era when human genius is opening up new prospects of unlimited progress to present and future generations, by achieving a grandiose scientific-technical breakthrough into the future, monopolistic capital, blinded by class hatred of everything that personifies the future, shows readiness to utilize the latest achievements of reason in the name of saving its power and its privileges and to expose human civilization itself to mortal risk. During its millennia of history, mankind really has not encountered a more threatening situation.

The events of recent months have thrown the responsibility of the present situation into particularly sharp relief. The essence of these events lies in the attempt of imperialist reactionaries to move from feverish preparation for social revanche to an offensive against the positions of contemporary revolutionary forces, and primarily against real socialism and its standard bearer--the Soviet Union. Their immediate aim is to gain military superiority over the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries, to force them to make political concessions, and then to ensure complete world dominion for themselves, even using nuclear weapons if necessary. To do this, the United States has started a new spiral in the arms race, having practically begun to build up its nuclear arsenal on an unprecedented scale, and is carrying out bandit-like attacks on small states reminiscent of leaders of Hitler's Reich.

Today, the action of militarist circles most dangerous for the cause of peace is the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in the countries of Western Europe. It is dangerous primarily because it creates a tense situation in the neuralgic [sic] center of the contemporary system of international relations, and because it expresses a striving to establish diktat and blackmail

as the norms of international conduct, placing the world on the brink of nuclear conflict.

Calculations that enemies of social progress will successfully reverse the course of history are unrealizable but they are fraught with extreme danger for the future of all mankind. In this situation, the sole response to the challenge thrown down by the forces of the old world can only be resolute warning--in word and deed--from the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community that all attempts to break the military-strategic balance that serves the security of peoples will be followed by the appropriate response, and that, if the United States unleashes a nuclear conflict it will not succeed in warding off a crushing counterstrike from its house; and also an appeal to the reason of responsible statesmen to make rational decisions, so as to save mankind from the misfortunes that threaten it, and a call for the unity of efforts of all peoples and of all inhabitants of this planet in the struggle for their own existence. It is precisely this approach that permeates the documents of universal political significance--the statements by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, of 28 September and 24 November 1983.

They contained a profound and principled evaluation of the present international situation and the formulated tasks emanating from this situation, and once again emphasize the indestructible will of the Soviet Union for peace, together with its resolve to do everything possible to prevent imperialism from casting mankind into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe.

States and peoples are warned in the most resolute way of the complexity of the existing situation. They have been given a clear opportunity to convince themselves that, by showing genuinely Leninist self-control, steadfastness, and a principled attitude the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are consistently implementing the policy of preserving peace and strengthening international security. The intrigues of imperialism are opposed by the high vigilance and strengthening of defense capacity of the USSR and other fraternal countries. "We will also henceforth do everything necessary,"--and it was pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum --"to ensure the security of our country and of our friends and allies, and we will increase the military might of the Soviet armed forces--a powerful factor in containing the aggressive aspirations of imperialist reactionaries."

Characterizing the motivating forces of the foreign policy of imperialism, V. I. Lenin pointed out the existence of the "military party" in capitalist countries, which adheres to the principle: "Force must be used immediately, without concern for the consequences" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 333). The assumption of power in the United States, the most powerful capitalist power of the contemporary period, by representatives of the reactionary wing of the monopolistic bourgeoisie--the "party" of bare-faced militarists--lies at the root of that danger to the cause of peace which has been created today. It seems to its leaders, in the persons of President Reagan and his entourage, that they already or soon will possess the force enabling them to sharply turn the course of world events in their

favor. Reveling in the delusion that the American military machine is omnipotent, and ignoring the realities of our era, they have begun a campaign to assert the absolute world power of monopolistic capital, inflaming the international situation to the extreme. The nuclear threat has today assumed a qualitatively new nature as a result of their actions.

The gigantic U.S. military appropriations (approximately \$640 billion over the last 3 years, \$280 billion in the current financial year, and the prospect of a 12-14 percent annual increase) are made with an obvious and increasing preponderance in favor of means for the so-called "disarming" or "decapitating" strike on the centers and communication lines of the Soviet side. In other words, the question is one of an attempt to adapt the Hitlerite idea of a "blitzkrieg" to conditions of the nuclear era. Correspondingly, priority is given to the warhead delivery systems that provide the maximum accuracy in homing in on a target and are designed for minimum flight time to the target. Today, according to Pentagon calculations, the Pershing II is just such a weapon--the latest intermediate-range ballistic missile. They are striving to deploy them as close as possible to the planned targets, concentrating superior power in decisive directions.

The danger of a nuclear conflagration increases as the U.S. administration irresponsibly pushes the arms race beyond the point where stopping it would be much more difficult than now. It is also increasing as a direct consequence of the inflaming of mass chauvinistic psychosis in America, including the frenzied propaganda of the "crusade for democracy" against socialism as a social system.

In the general situation of nervousness and uneasy excitement created by the actions of the Reagan administration, the installation in Europe of new American missiles was a step of a principled nature and world-wide importance, which is hostile to the cause of peace.

Undermining the existing level of military equilibrium on the continent, this step creates a new situation for every European state, including the U.S. allies, and new, threatening dangers for the countries of the Near and Middle East and for many African states which are within the range of these nuclear weapons, and it thereby places not only the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole but also the entire world before the accomplished fact.

Life has most convincingly confirmed that the delivery of Pershings and cruise missiles across the ocean is not a reaction to some kind of concern supposedly existing in the West regarding the present correlation of forces in Europe, which does not in fact cause alarm in view of its balanced nature, but rather the implementation of an action already planned long ago by the U.S. leaders, and the statesmen of other NATO countries who act together with them. The statements by highly placed representatives of that military bloc also attest to this. Thus, American General B. Rogers, supreme commander of the NATO armed forces in Europe, stated as early as March 1983: "The majority of people suppose that we are modernizing our weapons because of the SS-20 missiles. We would have modernized them even if there were no SS-20 missiles." It could not be more clearly put.

Disregarding both the will of the European peoples and the realities of the nuclear age, the American militarists are taking up their positions on foreign soil with first strike weapons ready for use in a situation where some conflict or other is exacerbated, the outbreak of which is more likely the more unpredictable the adventurist policy of the present American leaders becomes.

Thus, irrespective of the good will of those European states that are sincerely interested in strengthening peace on the continent and in developing relations here of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, the international climate in Europe has sharply deteriorated. It is primarily military detente that is blocked--the key to all further development of positive general European processes. But this is not the only thing involved in this connection. In all spheres of mutual relations between the states which, in one way or another, act in solidarity with Washington's course, and the Warsaw Pact countries, a cold spell has inevitably set in, the degree of trust has lessened, and possibilities of various contacts have narrowed. Damage is also being inflicted upon the level of achieved security, which is highly valued by people in both the East and the West of the continent.

In this light, the arguments of the political figures in the United States and other NATO countries sound false when they reiterated these days that the possibilities for more stable and long-term development of relations with socialist states are supposedly broadening. Everything is the other way around. Reasoning about arranging fruitful political dialogue with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, multilateral cooperation, and parallel deployment of American missiles, cannot be taken any other way than as an attempt, on the one hand, to continue by new means the old policy of the virtual unilateral nuclear disarmament of the world of real socialism and, on the other, to appease the West European public with wittingly unrealizable promises that do not contain any new ideas or constructive proposals indicating readiness to realistically appraise the situation.

Following the lead of Washington, the governments that agreed to the deployment of missiles in their countries also continue to adopt unrealistic positions. To all appearances, the time has come to speak firmly and without any reserve about the serious responsibility facing the peoples, which the West European advocates of recklessly turning these countries into hostage of the American adventurists for political reasons, are taking upon themselves. All these statesmen who--in the words of N. Kinnock, leader of the Labor Party of Great Britain--have stuck "a knife in the back of Soviet-American negotiations on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe," are basically united by unquestionably following the Reagan line in world affairs, and by unilaterally orienting themselves toward the infamous "Western solidarity."

"Blinded by their own fear," the journal LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE writes of them, "paralyzed by their unwillingness to admit their guilt, and stupefied by propaganda that has lavished empty guarantees, these people have recognized and continue to recognize with unwavering faith the changing 'military doctrines' which are fashionable in Washington."

There is a considerable amount of truth in the words of the French journal, but it is far from the whole truth. It is not transient emotions and erroneous evaluations of the essence of the existing international situation that represent the fundamental reason for the alignment of many politicians in the capitalist world with Washington, but their general class approach to the fundamental trends of the world development in our epoch. It is no accident that parallels with events of the 1930s arise in appraisals of the current policies of leading bourgeois states of the contemporary period. Was it not then too that the world witnessed the active complicity, against fundamental national interests, of the leaders of the largest capitalist countries with the leaders of the Nazi Reich which had begun a campaign to gain world domination? Mankind will never forget what a crushing failure the policy of so-called "appeasement" of the aggressor turned out to be for its initiator--the Chamberlains, the Daladiers, and others with them--and what bloody and tragic fruits it bore for the peoples.

But monopolistic capital is incorrigible, in the new historic situation and even during a period as critical for the earth's future as the present one, money magnates and their political emissaries are making the task of rallying their forces into a united antisocialist and antiprogressive alliance their priority-one task. Lenin's characterization of this alliance, given 6.5 decades ago, retains its full significance: "...The alliance of imperialists of all countries is a natural and inevitable alliance for the defense of capital, which knows no motherland; many of the most important and greatest episodes in world history have proved that capital places protection of its alliance of the world' capitalists against the working people above the interests of the motherland, the people, and anything else it chooses..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, pp 328-329).

Events of recent months demonstrate that, blinded by their mercenary class interests, the leaders of monopolistic capital in the NATO countries are prepared to gamble on the main interests common to all mankind, not to mention the accepted norms of international conduct, that have been formed on the basis of laborious and age-long experience and have served to help regulate relations between states to avoid a renaissance of the laws of the jungle. Hence, it is not this that concerns those who have embarked on the road of unquestioningly following the line laid down in world affairs by the most aggressive and adventurist circles of American imperialism and who assert that the Western countries have no other alternative than to rely on the United States to guarantee the existing social order.

Eulogies to "Western solidarity" sound in the capitals of NATO when the Reagan administration seems to be demonstrating to the world, deliberately and with a persistence worthy of the best application, that international norms exist for it only when they are convenient to Washington, that a power in which irresponsible militarism is the boss clearly places its imperial ambitions and hegemonist aspirations above international law and interests common to all mankind, and that it is prepared to resort at any moment to methods of force, threats, provocation, and blackmail. Are those who cling to the coattails of Reagan's policy aware of the ability of leaders beyond the ocean to turn the sharp edge of this policy against them too, as has



already happened more than in the past, as soon as this, in the ideas of the White House, corresponds to American interests?

By not wishing to prevent the deployment of American first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe, the United States' NATO allies have basically jeopardized their own security. This applies primarily to the governments of the FRG, the UK, and Italy, who could not help but know that in permitting the placement on their territories of weapons, the launching of which will be decided on the other side of the ocean, they are turning their countries into targets for immediate counterstrike. As a result, the FRG and Italy are depriving themselves of the advantage they had by virtue of the USSR's obligation not to use nuclear weapons against states that do not possess nuclear weapons themselves and which do not have such weapons on their territories. As far as the UK is concerned, its so-called "national" nuclear forces lose all their exclusively defensive and "containing" significance--as it is usually called in the West--for from now on it will not be up to London whether a nuclear war begins from British soil or not. The question of responsibility also applies to the governments of those North Atlantic alliance member-states that, while not accepting missiles on their territory, support the U.S. position and have thereby contributed to the creation once more of a dangerous situation in Europe.

The actions of the FRG ruling circles deserve particular attention. It is they who gave their consent to deploying on West German soil Pershing II missiles aimed at their neighbors, who not so long ago were victims of the bloody Hitlerite aggression. By their active participation in preparing and implementing the missile plan, they have contradicted the spirit and letter of the Eastern agreements that have regulated relations between the FRG and the socialist countries of Europe and have gambled with the vitally important interests of the country. They have chosen participation in the bellicose plans of Washington in preference to fulfilling their historical obligations never again to allow war to emanate from German soil.

The deployment of American missiles also signifies the further subordination of the Western allies to the United States. Washington, as statements of its representatives testify, intends to continue to keep any and all political contacts of other NATO members with the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community under absolute control and to demand agreement with it on any planned moves. There is no place for allies with equal rights in the "American-style world," as it is conceived by the White House--there, only vassals who cannot permit their opinions to differ with those in the American capital are acknowledged.

Thus, a new situation is taking shape in Western Europe, which the USSR and other states of the socialist community must take into account in their policy.

International relations have entered a period of increasing dangers which are brought to peoples by the plans and actions of U.S. and NATO reactionary imperialist circles. There should be no illusions as to the seriousness of the situation: the factors determining it have deep socioeconomic roots which, by virtue of the specific characteristics of American political life, can be

expected to be long-term. At the same time, there are also no grounds for exaggerating the possibilities imperialism has of implementing its criminal plans and for groundlessly ascribing to it the ability of sovereignly dictating the general direction of world events. In other words, it is not necessary to excessively dramatize the existing situation.

Imperialism has not intercepted and, even straining all of its forces, is no longer able to intercept historical initiative.

The main and decisive obstacle to this is the power of real socialism and the activity of the international communist and workers movement and of all liberation and democratic movements of the contemporary period. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will also henceforth continue to develop according to their own laws, which are called into being by objective and historical processes. Despite all its efforts, imperialism did not succeed in destroying socialism when the land of the soviets was the only one of its kind in the world. This is all the more unrealizable in our period of intensively strengthening the world positions of socialism.

The turn toward acute aggravation of international tension was not anything unexpected for the world of socialism and for all progressive forces of the contemporary period. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have attentively followed the growth of aggressive trends in the policy of imperialism and have pointed out in good time the dangers created by the plans and actions of U.S. and NATO militarist circles. A realistic and comprehensively substantiated program for overcoming negative phenomena in the development of world events was put forward, as is well-known, at the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states and then confirmed at the Moscow meeting of party and state leaders of seven socialist countries. The fraternal states and parties have repeatedly appealed to the parliaments and political and social organizations of other countries of the world to take joint actions with the aim of finding the best ways to halt the arms race and to normalize the international situation. The tireless foreign political activity of the Soviet state and the numerous peace-loving initiatives contained in the speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov have continued to create real opportunities to resolve the complex problems hindering the return of relations between the peoples to the path of normal development.

Thus, all possible measures have been adopted to prevent the situation from being further exacerbated. At the same time, the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community were also prepared for a different turn of events, taking the actions of U.S. and NATO militarist forces into account. The aggressive actions of reactionary imperialist circles should not take them unawares and, as events have shown, did not take them unawares. The situation taking shape in the international arena has not been under the control of the adventurist elements in the camp of capitalist politicians for one single moment.

Despite the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the recklessness of its actions, the conclusion of the CPSU and the world communist and workers movement, which is based on comprehensive analysis of the state of affairs in the

world, on the absence of the fatal inevitability of war also retains its force. There is still a real possibility of overcoming the present difficult moment in the development of international relations and of returning to detente as the trend in interstate contacts which best corresponds to the demands of the contemporary segment of history. No programs to re-arm imperialism can change the fundamental substance of our era as the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale. There is not and there cannot be any doubt that sooner or later the U.S. ruling cliques will have to reckon throughout the world.

Already at the present stage, the hard course of arming in world affairs adopted by the Reagan administration and its NATO like-minded followers is beginning to misfire more and more. As the press in the United States and other Western countries openly admits, the deployment in Europe of new intermediate-range nuclear systems, which has been imposed on its allies, is not bringing speedy dividends.

The beginning of their deployment did not cause confusion or perturbation in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but instead--according to observers' reports--it sowed doubts in Washington on the practicability of the course taken to rapidly gain a unilateral military advantage over the USSR. The countries of the socialist community unambiguously demonstrated that they have strong nerves and real possibilities to influence the socio-political atmosphere in Europe created by the actions of the U.S. and NATO. Briefly, the hegemonist ways of the White House have not produced the expected result. On the contrary, they have drawn the United States "into serious trouble throughout the world," as THE WASHINGTON POST remarked.

As a result of the growing lack of confidence in the future and of fear of the possibility of a nuclear conflict, both the U.S. foreign political course and the concept of "Atlantic solidarity," which is the basis of the North Atlantic alliance, are becoming the object of sharp social criticism from various social strata and groups. Even circles which showed until recently, one could say, punctilious loyalty to NATO, are openly posing the question: What does this organization primarily serve--the defense of West European interests or the American policy of establishing world domination?

In the existing situation of anxiety and lack of confidence in the future, the profoundly meaningful fact that, despite the existence on the continent of colossal stocks of the most up-to-date weaponry, and differences in the domestic and foreign policies of states belonging to opposing social systems, peace has already been maintained in Europe for almost 4 decades, cannot but occur to broad circles of the European public. Is the main credit for this due to the infamous "policy of containment," declared to be the cornerstone of NATO doctrine and serving today as the only ground for delivering the Pershing and cruise missiles to European soil, which are capable of turning this earth into radioactive ruins in one hour? Or is the prolonged peace in Europe a political achievement primarily of the Europeans themselves, who have learned, especially by the painful experience of the two world wars, to live in peace and to cooperate with one another? It is no accident that these questions are the topic of many political discussions developing today on the continent.

Europe in our time is a truly complicated and contradictory complex in political, military, economic, and ideological respects, made up of capitalist and socialist states. However, the European peoples, despite all the differences between them in social systems or in the way of life, also have something in common which is rooted in the very fact of their being neighbors for many centuries, in the mutual interweaving of their historical fate, and in the mutual influence of their cultures. Over the course of many centuries, they have been in the vanguard of sociopolitical and cultural progress of the whole of mankind, and as a result of this they have formed a more or less common mentality which now hinders the attempts to arbitrarily set some European peoples against others, which in fact, incidentally, U.S. ruling circles do not wish to understand since they themselves have traversed a considerably shorter and in many ways different path of development. It is worthy to note that even in our complex times, states belonging to two opposing systems cooperate more closely in Europe than can be observed in other regions of the planet.

The present decisive crossroads in the development of the world situation, and the catastrophic consequences with which pursuance of the path begun by the deployment in Europe of American intermediate-range nuclear systems is fraught, clearly pose to every participant in international life the question that is fundamental to the existing situation: Will he deepen the danger of war by his actions or contribute to normalizing the situation by supporting the method of honest and equal negotiations, without pressure and diktat, as the only method corresponding to the realities of the nuclear era?

It is clear to every sane person, and to all people concerned about the fate of the planet, that today the main thing is not to allow the European continent to be definitively pushed off the road outlined at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation into the swampy marsh of instability and unpredictability and of further aggravation of nuclear confrontation and political complications. The time demands new impulses and repeated increased efforts in order to create a moral-psychological atmosphere in which unleashing a nuclear war would become simply impossible.

In this connection, the problem which acquires the greatest significance is that of restoring and strengthening trust between states, which can and must be based on agreements proceeding from the principle of parity and equal security, and taking into account the necessity to maintain military-strategic balance. It is obvious that there must be the corresponding political will to achieve these agreements and firm adherence of the participating sides to their principles for their strict implementation. The broad and constructive program of measures proposed by the Soviet Union at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, which opened on 17 January, is an example of the responsible approach of our country to the most important problems of the contemporary international situation, and proceeds from concrete conditions which have developed on the continent as a result of the actions of the U.S. and NATO military, and clearly demonstrates the firm will of the land of the soviets to continue its tireless struggle for normalizing the situation in the world, and for wrecking the aggressive preparations of the imperialist reactionaries.

How long can the present situation of intensifying military confrontation continue in the absence of the so necessary negotiations on limiting and reducing weapons, and primarily nuclear weapons? This depends completely on the American side and the other NATO members. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its approach to problems of the existing international situation is exhaustively and fully set out in the statements of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, which outline the program of struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems for the future. "The Soviet Union"--it is emphasized in the statement of 24 November 1983--"states in a completely definite and firm manner that it remains loyal to the principled course of halting the arms race, and primarily the nuclear arms race, of reducing and ultimately of completely eliminating the threat of nuclear war. It will also further exert every effort to achieve these noble aims."

The USSR is doing and intends to continue to do everything it can to stop the dangerous sliding toward nuclear catastrophe and to preserve peace for present and future generations. The Soviet Union once again states that it is striving toward friendship and mutual understanding with all peoples and toward good-neighborliness with all states including the United States. It imposes its world outlook upon no one and promotes the view that ideological differences should not be carried over to interstate relations. Even at this troubled time for mankind and for the entire world, the Soviet state still adheres to a course of constructively resolving the problems of European and international security, lessening tension, and lowering the levels of military confrontation. In accordance with the message of the USSR Supreme Soviet, contained in its resolution "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State" of 29 December 1983, the government of our country continues to follow the policy aimed at safeguarding the security of the homeland of the October Revolution and of its allies and of implementing those steps, which, taking account of the existing circumstances, would lead to an improvement in the international situation.

The statements and other speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov during the past period, which have outlined the main directions of the USSR's struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and mapped out reliable guidelines for strengthening international security, fully retain their effective force.

Considering the fundamental task of its foreign policy to be to avert a nuclear conflict, which would ruin civilization, our country regards freezing, limiting, and reducing nuclear arms, until they are completely liquidated, as a reliable and practical path to fulfill this task. It is also guided by these very considerations in its approach to the situation in Europe. "The Soviet Union," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov says in his statement of 24 November--"as before, favors the most radical solution to the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe. It repeats its proposal that Europe should be made completely free of nuclear weapons--both intermediate-range weapons and tactical ones."

Of course, proceeding from a sense of responsibility for its own security, and for the security of its allies, and for the cause of universal peace, the USSR cannot view the increasing U.S. nuclear potential on European soil without drawing the corresponding practical conclusions, and cannot permit

military superiority over itself--this has been repeatedly and emphatically pointed out to the U.S. leaders and other Western states. In the conditions which have now been created, our country is compelled to adopt absolutely necessary measures to ensure a military balance, which the U.S. and NATO militarist forces are trying to break in their favor. Is it not clear that, were the Soviet Union to allow the existing correlation of military forces in Europe to be disrupted, a dangerous illusion could spread in Washington that it is possible to raise the military fist for action in relation to real socialism, and not in relation to it alone? It is easy to imagine with what adventurism and scorn for the life of the peoples the American military would act in the vast regions of the world in such a case.

Together with the fraternal countries of socialism, the Soviet Union has clearly demonstrated by its concrete measures that the United States is in virtually no condition to create a situation depriving our country of the ability to carry out a counterstrike. This fact alone places an insuperable barrier in the path of implementing Washington's proclaimed concepts of a "disarming" nuclear strike and of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. It is no accident that sane-minded European circles appraise the Soviet measures as serving the interests of the whole of Europe. Whatever the militarists on the other side of the ocean decide to undertake henceforth on European soil, they have now been most severely warned that the USSR and other socialist countries possess both the will and the material possibilities to defend the cause of preserving the military balance, the stability of the postwar structure in Europe, and, finally, the cause of ensuring peace and security of the peoples.

At the same time, Moscow confirms that, if the United States and the other NATO countries were to show willingness to return to the situation which existed before the beginning of the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would also be prepared to do this. In this case, the possibility of resuming the corresponding Soviet-American negotiations would also be restored. This would be the only rational solution, prompted by reason.

The tireless struggle waged by the land of the soviets for general peace and cooperation in Europe will henceforth continue in more complex conditions--this is an indisputable fact. The development of events in the world arena demands the greatest vigilance, self-restraint, and firmness, and unwavering attention to strengthening the defense capabilities of the country. This is precisely what Lenin taught, pointing out that the proletariat "must treat international crisis with extreme attentiveness and readiness to face anything unexpected whatsoever" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol. 40, p 247). The communist party and the Soviet state act in precisely this way.

The homeland of the October Revolution places the monolithic unity of the Soviet people, the economic and defense might of the country of the builders of communism, its international alliance with all the working people of the world, and the great belief of the Soviet people in the triumph of the great Leninist cause, against the intrigues of the enemies of peace and progress. The Soviet peace-loving foreign policy is reliably supported by the selfless

labor of our people, who are closely rallied around the communist party. The strength of the people's determination and will has already been tested on more than one occasion. And every time, the intrigues of the imperialist "crusaders" have ended in complete failure. The working people of the land of the soviets express their unswerving determination to give the proper response to the adventurism of the Washington and the NATO militarists by their tireless concern to further strengthen the economic and defense potential of the motherland and by their efficient labor at their work places. They realize that the development of international events demands still greater responsibility from every man for the task entrusted to him, as well as greater discipline and initiative in work.

An important factor in world politics which counteracts the imperialist policy of diktat and of inflaming military danger is the invariable course of the fraternal countries of the socialist community to preserve and strengthen peace, to bridle the arms race, and to broaden international cooperation. Our community has everything necessary for not allowing its security to be undermined, and for defending the interests of socialism. It places the reliable defensive shield of the Warsaw Pact and the increased readiness for action of the armed forces of the fraternal countries against the Pentagon-NATO nuclear missile bridgehead. The unity and cohesion of the community, and the coordinated constructive peaceful policy (yet another example of which is the latest proposal by Warsaw Pact member-states to free Europe from chemical weapons), in conjunction with its readiness to repel any aggressor who goes too far, are that essential factor in international relations that contributes to stabilizing the latter and developing them in a direction answering the interests of all peoples. The weighty and authoritative nature of the coordinated actions of countries of the socialist community on problems of war and peace is fundamentally undergirded by the fact that these countries have a united and realistic foreign political platform of action on the main international problems.

In the present situation, the fraternal countries proceed from the fact that only by following--now as well as in the future--the common principled course of the community, and adopting concrete and decisive measures to ensure its security, can the dangerous development of events in Europe and in the entire world be reversed. An even closer coordination of actions in the international arena, and an active, bold, and creative approach to implementing a common foreign political strategy--such are the demands made today by life on the socialist family of peoples and on each of its members individually.

The aims of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and that of the other countries of the socialist community--not simply to struggle to avert war, but also to fundamentally improve international relations and to strengthen and develop all good principles in these relations--are totally in harmony with the strivings of every peace-loving state and the aspirations of every people, for they answer the objective needs of our era. These days, life itself has placed the task of averting nuclear war above all the differences in interests which divide the members of the world community of nations. The unwillingness of peoples to come to terms with the prospect of a nuclear conflagration on this planet, and their striving to preserve and strengthen

peace, found a clear confirmation in the support of the overwhelming majority of the participants of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly for the Declaration on Condemning Nuclear War, proposed by the USSR, and also for the decisions to freeze nuclear weapons and to prevent an arms race in outer space.

The members of the Nonaligned Movement, which basically encompasses the world of developing states, more and more decisively oppose the actions of the U.S. and NATO militarists. Although the mass antiwar movement in the Western countries, the like of which history has never known, did not succeed in preventing the deployment of missiles--the goal it had set last year--it has maintained its positions, and the active antimissile actions of tens and hundreds of thousands of people have to be taken into account.

In the face of the formidable danger of all living things on this earth being destroyed, human reason authoritatively dictates the task of further uniting all the peoples, and all the responsible social and political forces of the planet for the sake of averting the war prepared by those who, to all appearances, would like to give themselves the role of the gravediggers of civilization. The time has come when no state, large or small, developed or developing, has the right to shut itself off from what is happening in the world, believing that active participation in resolving the most acute problems of ensuring international security is the business of the great powers, and one that concerns the others only slightly. These problems affect the fundamental and vital interests of every country, every people, and every aware person. As the Universal Assembly "for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War," held last summer in Prague, justly emphasized, "salvation is in the hands of the peoples themselves, and of every man and woman resolutely acting together for the cause of peace."

The calm confidence with which the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and all progressive movements of the contemporary period act at this responsible time, testifies to their deep conviction that mankind is not doomed to destruction, and that the problem of his future must and will be resolved not by missiles and nuclear warheads, but by the laws of history.

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CSO: 1802/8



IDEOLOGICALLY ENSURING THE PROGRAM OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAPITAL

AU161500 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 16-29

[Article by V. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom]

[Text] The communist party, loyal to Lenin's behests, attaches particular significance to ideological and mass political work, to the Marxist-Leninist tempering of communists, and to the ideological and moral education of the working people. V. I. Lenin wrote: "Developing the awareness of the masses is, as always, the basis and main content of all our work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 13, p 376). The significance of this work particularly increases on the frontiers of communist construction, where it is integrally connected with forming the new man and with educating "comprehensively developed and comprehensively trained people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 33).

The 26th CPSU Congress defined the main directions of the ideological activity of the party at the present stage. The congress set the task of striving to make content of ideological and political-educational work more topical and to ensure that its forms will meet the present needs and requirements of the Soviet people. In this respect, the main tasks are to form the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the working people, turn theoretical knowledge into firm convictions, and develop the working and political activity of the masses.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum made a big contribution to elaborating the problems of communist education. The plenum decisions and the program speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov define concrete ways of not only perfecting the ideological activity of the party, but also the socioeconomic and spiritual progress of Soviet society.

The healthy moral-political atmosphere in the country objectively creates favorable conditions for further intensifying ideological work. Party decisions are fulfilled in an atmosphere of high work and political enthusiasm. The rates of economic development have increased, quality indexes have somewhat improved, and production of industrial and agricultural products has increased. Consequently, the food and energy programs are being implemented. The real income of the population has increased. We can also see our achievements in the spiritual growth of the Soviet people and in the development of science and culture.

As was noted at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in the text of the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet after the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum, a positive change in the national economy as a whole had begun to show. This fact confirms the correctness of the line elaborated by the party and the realistic and substantiated nature of the tasks it has set. The communists and working people of Moscow wholly and fully support the decisions of the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the aims and conclusions contained in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. Muscovites have begun to work in a better frame of mind and with greater efficiency and quality.

## I

The Moscow City party organization sees its main political task as being that of steadily and firmly implementing the general party line, striving to fully and qualitatively implement its decisions, mobilizing communists and all working people to fulfill and overfulfill state plans, and forming the communist consciousness of the masses and of every individual separately in the process of creative work. The economic activity, socialist competitions, and the economic, organizational, and ideological-educational work of the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and of the soviet organs of the capital are aimed in this direction. Recently, a plenum of the gorkom considered the draft plan and budget for Moscow for 1984. A session of the Moscow soviet held afterwards approved them. Now, as Lenin taught, we consider it our duty to "arouse both competition and the spontaneous activity of the masses so that they immediately tackle their tasks" ("Póln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 52, p 39).

The plan is the law of production. There must be no enterprise and no labor collective in Moscow not fulfilling the plan tasks and delivery obligations. The city's rayon and primary party organizations are guided by these demands in their work with the people. We are striving to make every Muscovite realize that, under the present conditions in which the actions of American imperialism have aggravated the international situation, conscientious and highly productive work acquires particular significance. One must now work well not only for pay and not only with the aim of improving living conditions. Work is becoming to a still greater extent the prime obligation of Soviet man and his patriotic duty to the motherland, the people, and the present and future generations. For it is primarily the highly productive, creative, and excellent work of every individual in his section and at his work post that ensures the might of the land of the soviets and a reliable defense of peace.

Basically, the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan are being successfully fulfilled in Moscow. The collectives of the city's industrial enterprises pre-fulfilled the plan tasks for 3 years and for 1983 in volume of production of industrial products and in output of the most important types of manufactured goods. Products worth hundreds of millions of rubles were turned out over and above the plan. Labor productivity increased by 5.1 percent under a plan for an increase of 4.3 percent.

With the means and methods inherent in them, the party organizations are mobilizing the labor collectives and the economic leaders to expand, reconstruct, and technically reequip the plants and factories in operation, as a result of which, during 3 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan period, more than 500 workshops, sections, and production operations have been comprehensively mechanized and automated, a considerable number of highly productive pieces of equipment and approximately 1,000 industrial robots and automatic manipulators have been installed, and more than 6,000 new, progressive, technological processes have been introduced.

The technical level has risen, and the quality of products has improved. The specific proportion of manufactured goods of the highest quality amounted to 45 percent of the total volume of certified products. During 1983 alone, 300 models of new types of machines and equipment, instruments, and means of automation were built.

The efforts of party, soviet and economic organs are constantly directed at improving the work of transportation. In 1983, the collectives of transportation enterprise hauled approximately 12.5 million tons of national economic freight above the plan. More than 100,000 railway cars were released from loading as a result of more efficient use of rolling stock.

As a result of a wide application of the initiative, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee, among the Moscow railroad transportation, industrial, and construction enterprises, 140,000 rail cars and 135,000 containers were repaired.

A large-scale construction program has been fulfilled in the city. In 1983, apartment houses of a total area of 3.45 million square meters were built; 73 percent of these housing units were built with manufactured products of the same catalogue [katalog]. Many schools, clinics, and children's preschool establishments were built. A new 13.9 km line of the Serpukhov circle of the metro was commissioned, and a new bridge over the Moskva River and the Muskovskiy department store, which is the largest in the country and has a selling space of approximately 20,000 square meters, were built.

We have certain difficulties, shortcomings, and unresolved problems in the work of the industry, transport, and building activity. Here we see the key to success as, incidentally, we see it everywhere, in increasing the responsibility of the cadres and in high exactingness toward them as regards ir-reproachable fulfillment of their obligations, accuracy, and initiative, and unconditional fulfillment of standing tasks. These problems were posed in this way by the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The communists of the capital are strictly implementing and will continue to implement the decision and aims of the party.

Moscow is the largest scientific center in which almost one-quarter of all scientific workers of the country work. Fulfilling the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Speeding Up Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy," the scientific collectives and the industrial enterprises are concentrating their

efforts on creating and mastering essentially new technical equipment and technology up to the level of the highest world standards, on applying advanced methods of organization of research and elaboration, and on reducing the time between the finalization of a scientific achievement and its practical application.

At the present time, the academic and branch scientific research institutes and design offices and also the industrial enterprises of the capital are participating in preparing and implementing the majority of all-union scientific-technical programs. A complex program of scientific-technical progress for a 20-period is being prepared.

The social program of the 11th Five-Year Plan is being consistently implemented in the city. Thus, the national economy of Moscow is essentially progressing in all directions of economic and social development. This is the result of the selfless work of the workers, engineers, and scientific workers, and of all Muscovites, the result of the great work of the economic cadres, and the party, soviet, and social organizations, and the most important indicator of the efficiency of the economic, organization, and ideological-educational work conducted in the capital.

The city party organization attaches particular significance to the development of socialist competition. The attention of the competitors is concentrated on achieving high-quality indexes and on developing genuine competitiveness between the collectives and individual workers. The mass spreading of the initiative of a number of the capital's enterprises to develop the movement "one percent more, one day earlier" is ensured and has been highly praised by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov.

We consider the best method of labor and political education to be educating people by positive examples and models of advanced experience. Utilizing all forms of propaganda, the party committees and bureaus strive not simply to show the successes of this or that collective, but also to reveal through which organization, ideological, and social factors they were achieved. Comprehensively supporting the undertakings of advanced workers and production innovators, the propaganda and agitation media also reveal in good time those difficulties which arise in the process of introducing new technical equipment, technology, and progressive forms of organization of work and management, and pay attention to the necessity to overcome everything hindered the education of the working people.

In the economic sphere, as was noted at the June and December 1983 Central Committee Plenums, the task of significantly increasing the productivity of the social work is in the forefront. The achievements of scientific-technical progress, the improvement of production and work organization, the improvement in the qualifications of the cadres and the growth of their creative activity, and the perfecting of management are all aimed at fulfilling this task in Moscow.

The fulfillment of the tasks set by the party demands profound qualitative changes and a decisive transition is implementing a unified technical policy

that envisages a broad complex of measures ranging from the use of computers and robots to the reorganization of production on the basis of advanced technology. A council on robot equipment functions under the gorkom, and a seminar of directors of industrial enterprises is also in operation. There are analogous social subdivisions under the raykoms. In the primary party organizations, commissions for controlling administrative activity in the sphere of socioeconomic development of the enterprises are accomplishing a great deal of work. We see in this a striking manifestation of socialist democracy in action, a strengthening of the leading and guiding role of the party organizations, and a means of instilling in all the working people a feeling of being masters of their own enterprises and of their own country.

Having adopted a course to increase the efficiency of production, the party organizations of the capital are directing the working people toward increasing production results more quickly than production costs. The struggle for economy and thrift and for better utilization of production capacities, raw materials, and energy has been broadly developed. In 1983 alone, the working people of the city saved 470 million kwh of electric energy, 28,000 metric tons of gasoline, and a significant quantity of various raw and other materials. Thrift is a major economic reserve, but in this respect, it is no less important to remember that everything built in our society has not only material, but also moral value. Lenin wrote that, for us, "every pod of grain and fuel is a truly sacred thing...." <sup>2</sup>"Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 36, p 363). This Leninist thought is also true in our time. Consequently, the gorkom sets the task to use all propaganda forces and means to wage a struggle on a brigade front for economy of material resources and to permeate all economic practice with this struggle.

With the aims of intensifying production, the party committees have intensified exactingness toward economic leaders and started actions to develop the initiative of communists and to ensure an enhancement of their vanguard role in work, training, and social life. Main attention is devoted to forming among party members a sharpened sense of what is new, a willingness and ability to take responsibility upon themselves to fulfill complex tasks, and an ability to quickly notice and support everything progressive and advanced.

As past accountability and election party meetings and conferences have shown, the Moscow communists are exerting a fruitful influence on the life and effects of the Labor collectives, and provide an example of a genuinely communist attitude toward work. "Propanda by example is expected of us: The non-party members must be given an example," Lenin emphasized at a meeting of secretaries of the cells of the Moscow organization of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks on 26 November 1920 ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 42, p 46. This behest of the creator of the communist party is sacred for us.

A major reserve of economic growth is a high level of organization, discipline, and order in production. Fulfilling the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU "On Intensifying Work To Strengthen Socialist Work Discipline," the absolute majority of Moscow enterprises have carried out a complex set of measures to strengthen discipline and to bring about order in production. It should

be emphasized that the movement which has developed in Moscow under the motto "Honor and glory come with work" has yielded the best results in those collectives where mass political work on finding ways to efficiently utilize work time and on reducing idle time and other nonproductive losses has been combined with a struggle for work discipline and improvement of organization of production. As a result, losses of work time in the city's industry in 1983 were reduced by 25 percent in comparison to 1982. It is clear that bringing order to production and strengthening discipline is not a short-term campaign, all the more since there are still many shortcomings and unutilized reserves here. The party organizations constantly keep these problems in the focus of public attention.

Of course, one cannot resolve all problems by means of propaganda alone. Discipline must be formed and supported by the very structure of production life--by its efficient organization, precise rhythm of work, and absolute implementation of the principle of remuneration according to work. Taking this into account, the party organizations and the economic leaders are applying a wide range of economic, educational, and administrative measures.

It is important that the necessary conditions be ensured for strengthening work discipline: Accurate planning, and a timely supply of raw and other materials, complete sets of manufactured goods, instruments, and equipment in good order.

Productive work done with interest demands cleanliness and order in the workshops and in the sections, strict observance of the norms of labor protection and production sanitation, providing everyday service and welfare facilities for workers, and organization of public catering and recreation facilities. Various everyday service workshops and reception points for orders for everyday services have been set up and are in operation, and food products are sold at Moscow enterprises. All this saves people time and makes it possible for them to work better and more efficiently.

The most important means of strengthening work and production discipline and educating the members of the collective is the introduction of the brigade form of work organization. The brigades play an ever-increasing role in further intensifying social production and in fulfilling the decision of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the subsequent Central Committee plenums. A certain experience in introducing and supplying the brigade form of work organization and remuneration has been accumulated in the enterprises and organizations of the capital.

Proceeding from the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Developing and Increasing the Effectiveness of the Brigade Form of Organization and Stimulation of Work in Industry," permanent commissions on introducing and developing the brigades have been formed in our labor collectives, and concrete plans of organizational, technical, economic, and educational measures have been worked out and implemented. Particular attention is devoted to the specialization of sections and workshops, establishing efficient production zones for the brigades, perfecting work organization and rate setting, introducing the economic accountability system, and creating a favorable moral-psychological climate in the collective.

By devoting a great deal of attention to developing the brigade form, many of the city's labor collectives are achieving high production results. In the Moscow Electric Lamp Plant Association, for example, the formation of complex and integral process brigades has made it possible to increase labor productivity in a number of sections and to ensure a production output over and above the plan. During 3 years of the current five-year plan period, the average annual growth of labor productivity in the association has been more than 7 percent. In the Motor Vehicle and Tractor Electrical Equipment Plant No 1, more than 82 percent of the workers are currently in brigades. The effectiveness of applying this form of work organization at this enterprise is obvious. Since its wide introduction (in 1978) the volume of production has increased by 40 percent and labor productivity by 44 percent, with the number of workers reduced by 3 percent. Internal shift losses of work time have been reduced by half, and cadre turnover has diminished.

The brigade contract is highly effective in construction. Thus, in the Moscow Main Industrial Construction Trust, the output per worker in brigades working under unified travel is 1.6 times higher than any other in the other brigades. The economic accountability of the Moscow Main Construction Trust have reduced the prime condition cost of construction-assembly work over and above the plan by approximately 85 million annually. In these collectives, the annual output per worker is 50 percent higher than the average output per worker in the trust as a whole. The brigade of the Moscow Construction Trust No 1, led by the V. A. Zatvornitskiy, Hero of Socialist Labor and Lareate of the USSR State Prize, is successfully applying advanced work methods. This brigade is one of the first in the country to begin issuing guarantee certificates to the future tenants of the apartment houses under construction. These certificates are the worker's guide for high quality work.

Time has shown that the introduction of the brigade form of work organization demands only production-organizational but also educational measures. The gorkom is directing the efforts of the party organizations toward propagandizing this progressive form more purposefully, carefully analyzing how the process of its introduction is going, and resolutely opposing artificially created obstacles in its path, conservatism, and a formal attitude to the matter. The focal point of all ideological-educational work is shifted to brigades. We are striving to ensure that operating agitators and political information officers will be active in every brigade.

The structure of the party organizations is also being simultaneously reviewed in the collectives with the development of the brigade form. Wherever possible, party groups are being formed in the brigades.

In 1983, their number increased by 20 percent. Working together with the foremen and with the trade union and Komsomol aktiv, the party groups of brigades are successfully solving the problems of labor, ideological-political, and moral education and are striving to intensify to positive influence upon every member of the collective and to achieve high final results of work. It is precisely the final results which testify to the ability of the party and social organizations and of the economic leaders to mobilize people to fulfill party decisions.

Now, a matter of paramount importance is that of ensuring the rapid growth of labor productivity. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov has set the task of "increasing labor productivity over and above the plan by, let us say, 1 percent and reducing the prime production cost by an additional 0.5 percent." The Moscow labor collectives have already embarked upon fulfilling this responsible party instruction. They are uncovering unutilized reserves, seeking additional resources, developing socialist competition, and taking on increased obligations. Preparation for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet is a powerful stimulus to the growth of Muscovite labor and the political activity of the Moscow people. The gorkom is directing the political and organization work of the party organizations to solving key problems of development of the economy, while ensuring the unity of political, organization and economic activity is fulfilling the tasks set by the party.

2

Both for the ideological aktiv and the economic cadres of the capital, there is now no task more important and responsible than that of maximally utilizing all opportunities to increase the contribution of the Muscovites to strengthening the country's economic might, accelerating scientific-technical progress, establishing discipline and order, ensuring economy of material and energy resources, and increasing efficiency and quality of work.

This requires persistent and consistent reorientation of the existing way of thinking. An important role in implementing this change must be played by the whole system of cadre education including economic education, in which 1,274,000 working people are involved in Moscow. More than 700,000 of them are studying the problem of scientific-technical progress, approximately 300,000 study problems of economy and thrift, and 127,000 study the problems of perfecting the economic mechanism and management.

The party organizations are striving to ensure that the knowledge acquired by the students is applied in competent management and highly productive work. Thus, at the I. A. Likhachev Automobile Plant, the majority of propagandists and students of the economic education system keep personal accounts of the economy. The economic commissions work fruitfully at the enterprise. In the current academic year, more than 23,000 students are working according to personal accounts of economy. A broad development of rationalization and invention activity and reduction in losses from defective products have made it possible for the plant to economize more than 2 million rubles.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that the task of forming a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist conviction in every Soviet citizen was and is invariable.

The process of making the substance of political education topical, which is in progress in Moscow in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Perfecting Party Studies in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," has made it possible to devote the main attention to studying the ideological-theoretical wealth of the documents of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums and of the speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov.



In all forms of party studies, the academic year is progressing with the aim of implementing the directives of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the necessity to change the style of work of the party education network. Its substance has been considerably renewed and enriched, and the efforts of communists and the ideological aktiv are concentrated on studying the fundamental theoretical and political problems of the contemporary period. Now, the system of Marxist-Leninist education, in which approximately 5 million Muscovites study, has been formed in a way that considers the specific characteristics of the production and social activity of the students and the level of their ideological-theoretical training, political experience, and interest in these or those problems of party theory, policy, and history. The party committees and the propaganda cadres are striving so that, as a result of mastering the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the students should have a deep understanding of the objective laws of the increasing leading role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society, the concept of developed socialism, the party line for further consolidating the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and its course to intensify the economy and increase its efficiency.

Particular attention is devoted to the political studies in every labor collective being continually linked to fulfilling concrete economic, social, and educational tasks. More than 2 million students in the political and economic education system have adopted increased socialist obligations and personal counterplans for the 11th Five-Year Plan and keep personal economy accounts.

Changing the style of political education has also been reflected in strengthening the control of the party committees and the party bureaus over the state of political training. Cases of a simplistic approach to its organization, content, and results are appraised in a principled manner. The reports of communists help to avoid a formal approach to composing individual plans for independent study of concrete problems and increase the responsibility of party members for mastering Marxist-Leninist theory.

In the majority of party organizations, sociopolitical practice is being spread as the most effective method of party training. In this respect, the experience accumulated in the Kiyevskiy Rayon of Moscow is interesting. Here, party members hold talks and political information sessions in the labor collectives and participate in social research and the preparation of materials to be considered by party committees. Thanks to this practice, during 1983 alone, approximately 1,000 political information workers and agitators were trained in the rayon.

The party organizations in the capital are perfecting oral political agitation, which is an effective instrument of political leadership and a tested means of party influence on the masses. The possibilities of oral political agitation for informing, educating, and organizing the working people are being more and more widely used. The composition of the oral political agitation cadres has been strengthened, with politically mature communists and advanced production workers. Today, more than 300,000 lecturers, agitators, and political information workers work in the brigades, shifts and sections.

Mass political work has begun to exert a greater influence on the development of socialist competition, the spreading of patriotic initiatives and actions aimed at increasing labor productivity and strengthening discipline and organization.

Differentiated and individual methods are widely used in political agitation, which supplement and deepen the possibilities for mass forms of work, take into account the specific characteristics and interests of the people, and make it possible to increase the ideological influence on them.

Mass political work is still being perfected in residential areas. In this respect, the Perovskiy Rayon party organization has gained good experience; a special complex program is being successfully fulfilled in the rayon.

Guided by the directions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the party organizations constantly study the moods of the working people, carefully analyze the questions raised in discussions or meetings with leaders, react to them in good time, and adopt practical measures to eliminate shortcomings. The Days of the Open Letter are widely practiced.

Single political days, which are held in Moscow each month, have recommended themselves as an effective form of political enlightenment and education of the masses. Secretaries and department heads of the gorkom and the raykoms, and chairmen and deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets address the working people. A total of more than 20,000 party, soviet, Komsomol, and economic leaders participate in each political day.

An important role in informing the working people and the population and in explaining questions which are of interest to them belongs to the information conferences and the roundtable meetings. After the June Plenum, the work of the city's press and of other mass information media improved. It is important that many problems of the life of the Moscow labor collectives are considered not only from an economic point of view, but also from sociopolitical and ideological ones. Elucidating the problems of planning and management, of organization of work and socialist competition and of spreading advanced experience, the newspapers MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA have begun to write more often about people's relations in the production process, and to reveal the mutual link between fulfilling economic and educational tasks.

The decision of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum aroused a wide response among the artistic intelligentsia of the capital. Plenums and secretariat meetings were held in all the creative arts unions. Discussions at these plenums and meetings on the state of affairs in literature and the arts testify that the ideas of the plenum have exerted a mobilizing effect upon the creative intelligentsia. The main thoughts and aspirations of the 90,000-strong detachment of the city's workers of literature, art, and culture are concentrated upon fulfilling the task set by the plenum--to form and elevate man's spiritual needs, and to actively influence the ideological-political and moral aspect of the individual personality.

Access to cultural values has truly assumed a mass character. During the past year alone, 35,000 concerts and 15,000 performances were given in Moscow and were attended by more than 27 million spectators, 121 million people watched films in the city's movie theaters, and more than 1.5 million visited exhibitions. The theaters and concert organizations of the capital annually present approximately 100 news shows and 50 thematical programs and performances.

The Moscow writers, film workers, performers, and artists are acting propagandists of the socialist way of life. Their words about topical problems of the time are heard directly at work places and building sites, in the press, on the radio, and on television, strikingly propagandizing the policy and practical affairs of the CPSU. Today, culture is an important part of the ideological antagonism of the two social systems. Distinctly aware of their responsibility to the motherland and the Soviet people, the cultural workers systematically work in propagandizing communist ideals and the exposure of bourgeois ideology. Actively participating in the antiwar movement, the artistic intelligentsia of Moscow makes a weighty contribution to the propaganda of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to the defense of the ideals of peace and progress.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum set the task of creating a unified system of counterpropaganda, intended to develop in the Soviet people a steadfast immunity to all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and psychology and to contribute to forming a communist conviction and to a party-minded appraisal of the phenomena of social life.

The city party organization is devoting particular attention to the problems of counterpropaganda. The volume of lessons devoted to problems of ideological struggle by the world arena has increased in the system of party training and in various forms of mass propaganda. The staff of lecturers on problems of counterpropaganda has expanded considerably. A city seminar on counterpropaganda with a program drawn up taking into account the demands made by the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum is in progress for propagandists and lecturers. Similar seminars are being held in all the rayons of the city.

Support groups are in operation to perfect counterpropaganda work and to generalize and spread positive experience in industrial enterprises, scientific research institutes, institutions, higher education institutions, and schools in the city.

An information-methods cabinet has been formed under the House of Political Education of the Moscow City Committee and the Moscow CPSU Committee, whose task is to prepare the necessary recommendations and orientations on topical problems of the contemporary ideological struggle in the world arena and to operatively and purposefully inform the lecture and propaganda cadres engaged in counterpropaganda activity.

Coordination of efforts among the ideological institutions and the mass information media of the city has improved in expanding the counterpropaganda direction of various materials and analyses, editions and publications, and television and radio programs. Thus, during 1983, programs on the advantages

of developed socialism and exposing the bourgeois way of life were prepared by the Main Editorial Office of Broadcasts for Moscow and Moscow Oblast of Central Television. Attention was also devoted to exchange work experience of the ideological aktiv in the struggle against hostile propaganda. Counterpropaganda materials began to be systematically printed in the monthly journal SOBESEDNIK and in other publications of the Moskovskiy Rabochiy Publishing House. A section for the problems of counterpropaganda of the Moscow City organization of the USSR Union of Journalists was organized and began work.

Naturally, the party committees will have a considerable amount of work ahead of them to form an accurate system of counterpropaganda in every collective, and to immediately give due rebuff to the various rumors, conjectures, philistine conversations, and other ideologically harmful manifestations which sometimes arise.

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To bring the party ideas to the awareness of every individual it is necessary to strive to perfect the style and methods of the leadership of party committees in the ideological work. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee called attention to the fact that all departments of party committees and their first secretaries and not only the ideological cadres must thoroughly grasp the substance of ideological work, show interest in the spiritual demands of people, and evaluate the results of education, not by superficial indicators of the quantity of measures taken, but by the level of the awareness of the masses and their attitude to work.

The effectiveness of party leadership and the ability of party organizations to convince and organize people is more strikingly demonstrated wherever a close unity of the political, organizational, and economic activities has been ensured in practice.

The work of the Kuntsevskiy Rayon party organization can serve as an example. That party organization attaches primary importance to organizationally and ideologically ensuring a course aimed at intensifying production, effectively utilizing the rayon's great technical and scientific potential, and raising the level of the labor and political activity of the working people. The reconstruction of enterprises continues on a wide scale. All branches of the national economy in the rayon are successfully fulfilling the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The entire increase of industrial production is due to increased labor productivity.

Fulfilling great political and national economic tasks, the raykom and the party organization are engaged in extensive explanatory work among the working people and strive to create an atmosphere of general interest. The methods of conducting general party meetings have been raised to a higher level, the ideological commissions of the raykom and the party committees of large organizations work effectively, and complex plans of educational work are being carried out.

Following the June 1983 Plenum, the quality structure of ideological cadres has essentially improved in the rayon. A great deal of attention is devoted

to party studies, the economic education and training of communists, the mass political work, and propaganda lectures. In the rayon organization, there are virtually no communists who are not fulfilling their production tasks. About 90 percent of the party members have been entrusted with those public tasks directly connected with the education of people.

The gorkom and the raykoms attach particular importance to increasing the role of leaders in educating the working people. A higher exactingness toward leaders as regards their ideological theoretical growth and their personal participation in the education of people as well as the cultivation of the practice of leadership of labor collectives on the basis of pedagogical, psychologist and legal knowledge must be noted in this connection as a positive trend. The personal participation of all leading workers in the ideological and mass political work is considered to be an integral part of their activity which, in fact, represents a school of education for the leaders themselves and enables them to more thoroughly the life of collectives, become better acquainted with their interests and attitudes, and react more efficaciously to any existing shortcomings and observations. This is all the more important in view of the fact that some leaders have not yet fully mastered the price of educational work among people.

It is in the light of the decisions of the June and December plenums of the CPSU Central Committee that the city party organization in making more exacting demands in relation to the work of propagandists, lecturers, agitators, political information workers, reporters, journalists, and the entire ideological aktiv. They must be authoritative and educated journalists who have mastered the Leninist skill of enlightening and persuading the masses and who are able to skillfully carry out ideological work among different groups of the population and to mobilize the working people in implementing the party's socioeconomic plans. Today, it is extraordinarily important to remember the Leninist behest that "everyday propaganda and agitation must have a truly communist character" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 41, p 205).

The quality level of the propaganda cadres has been essentially improved in the city. Within the party study system in the current study year, 98.2 percent of propagandists are acquiring higher education and 70.9 percent of propagandists have been trained by the University of Marxism-Leninism.

The work of the propagandist seminars is being reorganized. Increasingly greater attention is devoted to collectively studying every topic, holding discussion, working out practical tasks for the participants, and exchanging experience. Regular consultations are held on drafting individual creative plans, applying the problem methods of training and utilizing the propaganda technical means.

The work with the lecturing cadres is being perfected. The number of lecturing groups of party committee and primary organizations has significantly increased. At present, 110 schools for young lecturers, 25 universities of master lecturers, and a city university of lecturers are operating in the city.

In training and retraining propagandists, lecturers, political information workers, and agitators, principal attention is devoted to ensuring that their ideological-educational work will be convincing, purposeful, easily understandable, well-argued, and graphically clear, that they will efficaciously react to the issues in which the working people are interested, and that they will constructively discuss the tasks connected with mobilizing the masses in fulfilling the tasks emanating from the 11th Five-Year Plan and the decisions of the December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

About 54,000 lecturers at higher education institutes and technical institutes and more than 50,000 teachers and educators of secondary schools and engineering-pedagogical cadres of the professional technical schools represent a great detachment of the city's ideological workers. They have been entrusted with training and educating the rising generation to which the June Plenum devoted great care. Every year, 1.8 million students attend the higher education institutes, technical institutes, schools, and vocational technical schools, and the problems of the quality of their training and education are a subject of constant concern of the gorkom and the party organizations.

At this time, when the discussion of the draft project of the CPSU Central Committee "The Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools" has begun everywhere, the city's party organizations and pedagogical collectives are making active efforts to radically improve the organization of work training and professional orientation of students primarily toward the sphere of material production. This problem is of special importance for our city in view of a shortage in the labor force in Moscow.

We strive to closely link the entire process of training with the participation of students in productive and socially useful work and with forming in them the habits of and need for conscientious work for the good of the society, and to ensure that these tasks will be thoroughly realized by all, including teachers, students, and parents. The role of labor collectives and basic enterprises in the work has been significantly raised.

At the same time, the efforts of party organizations, teachers, professors, and lecturers are aimed at decisively improving the ideological-political and moral education of the youth.

The city party organization uses various forms of educating the growing generations on the revolutionary, militant, and work traditions of the CPSU and the Soviet people. Special attention is devoted to the military-patriotic education of the youth, to inculcating it with hatred toward the enemies of socialism, to its class hardening, and to its readiness to defend the revolutionary achievements.

The policy of strengthening law and order and legality is consistently implemented in the city. The party organizations are leading the struggle to transform Moscow into a city of a high level of awareness and organization. The advanced collectives of enterprises, institute, and residential housing and law enforcement organs have produced an initiative aimed at further intensifying the struggle against antisocial phenomena. The party, trade union,

and Komsomol organizations are engaged in wide actions to create, in all labor collectives and the housing microrayons of the population, an atmosphere of intolerance toward and general condemnation of drunkards, hooligans, parasites, and other violators of the norms of communist morals. All this is producing positive results. The crime rate is being reduced in Moscow. The struggle against embezzlements, bribery, and speculations has been intensified. The work to prevent violations of law among juveniles and youth has become more purposeful.

The gorkom and the raykoms strive to ensure that every individual party organization will take concrete measures to form in communists the high qualities of political fighters and develop their initiative and activeness. "This activeness and this initiative," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov says, "are a matter of the realistic nature of the plans of the party and of the growth of its strength, and, in the final analysis, a guarantee for the fulfillment of the program of communist construction."

A more effective participation of communists in public life plays an important role in this connection. At present, 90 percent of the members of the city party organizations have been assigned permanent party tasks. It is in the process of fulfillment of these tasks that the leading and mobilizing role of party organizations as a whole is noticeably increasing and intensifying.

The Frunzenskiy Rayon party organization has accumulated good experience in party influence in all spheres of life and activity of labor collectives. An institute of party organizers has been formed and is effectively functioning in the rayon. In the rayon, there are many collectives with small numbers of members among whom there are no communists. The party raykom decided that the "collectives with small numbers of members are not of little significance" and charged nearly 1,500 communists with the tasks of party organizers in these collectives. Thanks to the purposeful efforts of communists, many of the collectives with small numbers of members each--communications departments, dining halls, barber's and hairdresser's shops, and bookstores--have begun to work more steadily and have improved the standard of their services for the population.

The brigades of the CPSU raykom dispatched to provide practical assistance to enterprises and organizations have won great authority in the rayon party organization. Members of the raykom and the control commission, party activists, specialists of ministries and departments, and members of the party committees of advanced labor collectives are assigned to these brigades. One such brigade has worked in the Yava Factory. Following its recommendations, the enterprise has improved the distribution of cadres, the individuals enjoying real authority in the collective have been selected to head many production brigades, and the organizational-technical measures for improving the factory's production operations have been revised. Today, the results of the party influence in the Yava Factory are obvious: The collective is stably fulfilling its plans, the turnover of cadres has been reduced, and the technical reequipping of the factory's workshops is progressing more quickly than in the past. There is virtually no equipment in the factory

waiting for installation. The raykom's brigades work also in other enterprises, organizations, and scientific institutions in the rayon. The gorkom supports this form of intensifying the party influence in the field and is taking measures to spread it more widely.

In the light of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia in perfecting the style and methods of activities of party organizations, which is of great all-party significance, the control and verification of the fulfillment of adopted decisions have become stricter and communists are now informed more frequently about the realization of their proposals of critical observations. The city party organization has adopted a more exacting approach to determining the issues discussed at the meetings of party committees, the number of adopted resolutions is decreasing, and the responsibility of workers of the party apparatus for their assigned tasks is increasing. For instance, the gorkom secretariat and the bureaus of raykoms have begun to hear more frequent reports of the sections of the apparatus on their work with party organizations.

The city party organization's work planning is being perfected. The questions of improving the militant efficiency of party organizations as well as the questions of study and propaganda of accumulated experience are now an integral part of the prospect plans of the gorkom and raykoms. They have made it possible to direct the attention of communists primarily toward fulfilling those tasks which produce the greatest effect for the capital's economic and social development as a whole and for each individual labor collective.

The Moscow working people and their vanguard, the city party organization, are concentrating their efforts on fulfilling the tasks of communist construction set by the 26th Party Congress, the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. Maintaining the gathered rate of progress, the city's workers made a good start at the very beginning of 1984 and have developed a wide socialist competition with the aim of ensuring an absolute fulfillment of planned tasks and utilizing all potentials for their overfulfillment. In this connection, the main emphasis is placed on raising the level of economic operations, accelerating scientific-technical progress, more fully utilizing production potentials and material, labor and financial resources, increasing labor productivity, reducing the prime costs of products, and intensifying the policy of economizing in every enterprises, at every construction project, and in every economic organization. The unity of fulfilling the socioeconomic and educational tasks of the communist construction is being assiduously implemented.

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CSO: 1802/8



## ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INSTITUTIONS AND FORMS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 30-40

[Article by A. Voss, Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] Quite naturally, today the question of democracy and human rights and freedoms has become one of the main areas in the process of the historical confrontation between the two opposite systems--socialism and capitalism. The great attractive power of the ideas of socialism is gaining the upper hand more and more obviously in the course of this confrontation; the inability of the lavished "free world" to heal social ills and to secure true freedom and equality is being confirmed. That is why the defenders of the bourgeoisie are using, as V. I. Lenin said, "trite statements about 'pure democracy,' embellishing and suppressing the class content of bourgeois democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 250). Their purpose is clear: to conceal behind the smokescreen of verbal chattering the steadily widening and deepening gap between the policy of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the people.

The depth of this gap was made particularly clear last autumn when, ignoring the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples, a number of Western European parliaments accepted the deployment of American Pershings and cruise missiles on their territory. The smokescreen was dispersed and the "pure democracy" of police clubs, water cannons and tear gas, expressed in the words "we shall not give in to the street pressure!" appeared in full color. We must recall here Engels' words expressed almost 150 years ago. In exposing the false and hypocritical nature of bourgeois parliamentarianism, he asked: "Is the House of Commons not a corporation alien to the people, elected through comprehensive bribery? Does the Parliament not constantly trample under its feet the will of the people? Does public opinion on general matters have even the slightest influence on the government?" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 499). Although a great deal has changed since that time, we are justified in asking the same questions today.

Truth is always specific. This applies to bourgeois democracy as well. Yes, we neither deny nor intend to deny that it constituted historical progress compared with the Middle Ages. To us, communists, however, something else is also clear, namely that, as Lenin pointed out, "it always remains, and cannot fail to remain under capitalism, a narrow, curtailed, false and hypocritical paradise for the rich and a trap and a deception for the exploited, the poor" (op. cit., vol 37, p 252).

Engels prophetically predicted that the democracy toward which mankind is advancing is a "social democracy," and "is a principle of socialism" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 1, p 642). History irrefutably confirmed the accuracy of his words by convincingly proving that socialism and democracy are indivisible.

The new society cannot be built without relying on the creative initiative and activeness of the broadest possible toiling masses. On the other hand, the free development of this popular initiative and activeness can be ensured only under socialist conditions.

Socialist democracy is characterized above all by the existence of a political system which, as Marx emphasized, turns "the state from the organ standing above society into an organ fully subordinated to that society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 26) and "administers the people through the people themselves" (ibid., vol 17, p 350). It is precisely this which ensures the efficient management of public affairs and the increasingly broader and effective participation of the working people in governmental life.

Socialist democracy gave the working people the type of real rights and freedoms of which they could only dream in a capitalist world. The right to work, rest, health care, material security in old age and disability and the right to housing, education and use of cultural achievements are only the basic among them. This represents the practical implementation of the programmatic stipulation in the "Communist Party Manifesto," included in Article 20 of the Soviet Constitution: "The free development of one is a prerequisite for the free development of all."

We must also point out that socialism changed the scale of democracy. In our country it is not limited in the least to so-called representative democracy and the organization and activities of power bodies, but covers literally all realms of activity of the socialist society. As true democracy, it "enables us to combine the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to combine within the elected representatives of the people both legislative and executive functions. Compared to bourgeois parliamentarianism, it is a step forward in the development of democracy of universal significance" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 34, pp 304-305).

In a word, a great deal has been accomplished in our country of which we can be justifiably proud. Nevertheless, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov points out, we do not idealize past and current accomplishments in this area in our country. This is indeed true. It is in the spirit of our party which has always soberly assessed accomplishments and has not shut its eyes to unresolved problems or existing shortcomings.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that the essence of our entire work under contemporary conditions is the planned and comprehensive advancement of developed socialism. Prime importance is ascribed to the advancement of socialist democracy and the further intensification of the efficiency of all its institutions and forms. This work is complex. It

covers the activities not only of union and republic superior power organs but of city, rayon, settlement and rural soviets of people's deputies, public organizations and all labor collectives.

In the area of socialist democracy the question inevitably arises not only regarding the general trend in its development but the practical means of achieving it. The general line here is clear. It has been quite accurately earmarked in Marxist-Leninist theory and confirmed by the practice of building socialism.

In discussing the further development of democracy, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at the June Plenum that "as to the more distant future, we, communists, see it as the gradual growth of Soviet statehood into social self-management. This will take place, we believe, through the further development of the state of the whole people and the more extensive involvement of the masses in the administration of social affairs."

Here two sides of the problem clearly stand out: first, the realm of activities of the soviets as organs of the people's regime, combining legislation, management and control; second, the realm of activities of trade unions, other social organizations and labor collectives. The former is generally known as representative democracy. As to the second, the necessary clarity in the matter does not exist so far. It is sometimes referred to as industrial democracy, although it is entirely clear that it goes beyond the framework of production relations alone. It is also referred to as direct democracy in labor collectives. However, by direct democracy we mean above all the direct participation of the broad toiling masses in matters such as referenda, discussion of draft laws, and so on. Furthermore, the realm of activities of social organizations and labor collectives as well has its own representatives consisting of various elective organs; representative democracy as well has the same direct elements.

We believe that the best in this area would be to structure it on the basis of functional characteristics, for which reason this second and, incidentally, steadily strengthening and broadening area, unlike the realm of activities of the soviets which act specifically as organs of the state system, should be defined, although somewhat arbitrarily, as the realm of social self-management. It is incorrect to believe, as is sometimes the case, that as the building of communism develops it will gradually supplant representative democracy. Actually, something entirely different takes place: both areas of activities develop, becoming increasingly interwoven and supplement and extend each other.

The width and depth of socialist democracy and the extent to which it contains real rights and freedoms are naturally not something permanent and given once and for all. In this connection we should remember Marx's statement in "Critique of the Gotha Program:" "The law can never be superior to the economic system and the cultural development of society based on it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 19). Obviously, this concept is quite important on the methodological level, in assessing our accomplishments and in defining the trends and needs of further development of socialist

democracy. It enjoins us to give priority to the correlation between economics and democracy and to the material prerequisites for democratic rights and freedoms.

Actually, the real importance of rights such as, let us say, the right to education, health care, material security in old age and housing, as well as the very range of such rights as guaranteed by the Constitution, depends on the share of the overall social product which society can allocate at one stage or another for such purposes. Therefore, the question of democratic rights cannot be posed abstractly, in general. In this case, as in the area of distribution relations, anticipation is inadmissible. Therefore, one of the most important tasks facing party propaganda today, based on the resolutions of the November 1982 and June and December 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums, always kept within sight by the Latvian Republic party organization, is extensively explaining and informing every person of the simple truth, which is not always properly understood by all, that labor and labor alone and its actual results rather than anyone's subjective wish or good will, determines the level of well-being and the real worth of the constitutional rights of the Soviet people.

Typical of a socialist society, in which the created material goods are handled not by capitalists but by the people themselves through their representative organs, is the steady increase in the real substance and the broadening range of constitutionally guaranteed rights. For example, in 1940 the sums of 2, 1 and 0.3 billion rubles were allocated respectively for education, health care and physical culture and pensions; the respective amounts rose to 13.2, 6.9 and 10.6 billion in 1965 and 31.6, 17.2 and 33.3 billion in 1980. Or else let us consider housing construction. During the first five-year plans it averaged between 57 and 82 million square meters of housing; starting with the 8th Five-Year Plan (1966-1970) the figure far exceeded 500 million square meters. It was precisely this which made it possible to include in the current constitution the exceptionally important stipulation that "the citizens of the USSR have the right to housing." The problem of housing, as we know, is still quite grave, including in our republic. Let us emphasize, however, that this gravity is caused essentially not by the need for a roof over one's head but by the requirement of ensuring to every family fully comfortable housing consistent with contemporary requirements.

This is accurate not only on the national scale but even more so on the level of the individual labor collectives. In the past virtually the entire profit earned by the enterprises went into the budget in order to finance on a centralized basis areas of vital importance to the entire society. Today some of these funds may be left at the disposal of the labor collectives themselves for production development, material incentive and implementation of social plans. Thus, economic incentive funds of state enterprises and economic organizations totaled 2.5 billion rubles in 1965 and exceeded 30 billion rubles in 1980. This is an impressive amount, as we can see, fully comparable to the biggest expenditure items in the state budget.

This circumstance has brought about substantial changes in the life of the labor collectives, offering them new opportunities. For example, at the

Khimvolokno imeni Leninskiy Komsomol Production Association in Daugavpils, funds set aside for sociocultural measures and housing construction alone exceeded 3.7 million rubles for the 10th Five-Year Plan and the first 3 years of the 11th. Some 1.5 million rubles were used for the maintenance of the medical center and for getting passes for sanatoriums and rest homes and engaging in a variety of sports and cultural-educational activities. Since 1976 the association has built a preventive treatment center for 100 people, a kindergarten for 360 children and 432 apartments. Approximately one-third of the funds spent for such purposes, or 2.2 million rubles, came from the association itself.

What does this prove? It proves above all that today a number of democratic rights codified in the Constitution and essential to the individual are secured not only on the national level but on the level of the labor collective which also becomes a guarantor of such rights. Naturally, under the changed circumstances a number of problems related to the social formations of the labor collective and their elective organs must be reformulated. This includes, on the one hand, concern for upgrading production efficiency, which is the only way to set up the respective funds; on the other, it is the ability to make the fullest possible use of existing opportunities for meeting the various needs and requirements of the members of the collective. The juridical foundation of this work, which determines its content and specific directions and grants the necessary powers to this effect was the USSR Law on Labor Collectives which was passed last year.

The ever-increasing labor collective possibilities of resolving social problems have enabled the local soviets, which act as coordinating units, to introduce a number of new aspects in their activities. As we know, in recent years the rights and plenary powers of the local soviets have been substantially expanded in terms of enterprises, establishments and organizations located on their territory. Not all problems have been resolved in this area, however. Let us consider housing construction. Reality proved a long time ago that leaving it in the hands of individual enterprises and departments alone was inexpedient. Therefore, it was transferred to the local soviets which, as a rule, act as the main customer, while the enterprises set aside funds for participating in such purposes on a share basis. It is precisely at this point that problems arise. Naturally, the labor collectives which contribute their funds are interested in obtaining a maximal amount of square meters of housing. However, in order to have a normal life the urban economy must be developed as well. Schools and preschool institutions, commercial and service enterprises, and so on, must be created. The enterprises unwillingly allocate funds for such purposes. For example, in Liyepaya housing construction is essentially financed out of shares contributed by enterprises, ministries and departments. Meanwhile, their participation in the construction of urban communal economy projects amounts to slightly more than 25 percent. Despite an existing tendency, it would be incorrect to try to resolve all the problems of urban economic development with enterprise funds alone. This could reduce to naught the stimulating effect of their sociocultural measures and housing construction funds. However, their participation in such projects should be greater.

In practice, in the final account, all partners find a common language, the more so since the party organizations and the city and rayon party committees also become involved. A purposeful direction has been given to such work in Daugavpils. Here the solution of such problems is preplanned with the help of a citywide plan and the plans for social development of labor collectives. More than 20 urban enterprises are taking part in resolving a number of problems important to the city--the development of engineering facilities, urban construction, strengthening school material facilities and others. Every year they pay for school repairs totaling in excess of 200,000 rubles.

The work of the local rural soviets has been significantly enriched, particularly following the creation of rayon agroindustrial associations. An instructive example was set by Talsinskiy Rayon, where more than strictly production problems related to the implementation of the Food Program are being resolved. The rayon drafted and is implementing a suitably considered program for social development, which was approved by the party raykom plenum. A number of districts were set up accordingly. Each of them consists of several farms with a center which is developing on the basis of an already extant urban or rural settlement. Such a program, which takes into consideration real needs and possibilities, makes it possible successfully to coordinate the efforts of the individual farms and enterprises and local soviets. Thus, in recent years a school for 720 students, a kindergarten for 140 children, a cafeteria, an outpatient clinic and premises for a savings bank were built in recent years and work is under way to rebuild streets and lay sewer lines and install treatment facilities. A store and a large water sports center are under construction in Valdemarpils. A considerable share of the funds needed by the Valdemarpils City Soviet for the construction of such projects came from the nearby farms and district enterprises and organizations. The council of the rayon agroindustrial association as well provided extensive help.

A substantial number of similar examples of united and coordinated work may be cited. Unfortunately, however, frequently the opposite happens as well, in which the local soviet plays the role of a petitioner in terms of enterprises and organizations located on its territory. We believe that the question of the participation of individual enterprises and departments in projects based on the regional plan could be greatly facilitated with the existence of substantiated norms of payments for resources, such as the use of city engineering facilities and all types of services. So far no such norms have been set and everything depends on the persistence of the local soviets themselves. Incidentally, norms, as the practical experience of the Riga City Soviet and its executive committee proves, would help the local soviets to influence production activities more efficiently.

Like many the other cities, Riga is very short of manpower. Therefore, this five-year plan assigned the city's industry the task of ensuring the entire increase in the volume of output through higher labor productivity with no increase in the number of working people. However, in an effort to increase the number of workers, ministries and departments frequently claim that they have no other solution. In some cases this is so. However, in considering requests for manpower, on the basis of the estimates of its planning commission, the city soviet executive committee formulates the matter as follows:

In Riga capital investments totaling 15,000 rubles are needed to ensure every newly hired worker with all necessary services; consequently, if an enterprise would like to increase its personnel by 100 people it must contribute 1.5 million rubles to the development of the urban economy. Such an interpretation of the matter forces ministries, departments and production associations to review their position: frequently the requested number of workers is reduced by a factor of 2 or 3 and, in many cases, the request is withdrawn, after "finding" possibilities for achieving the necessary increase in the volume of output through production intensification.

Naturally, it is not a question merely of establishing such norms. If we raise this question on a broader basis, we see that the main feature is the proper combination and maximal interconnection between sectorial and territorial planning and establishing the type of intersecting sectorial and territorial plans which would combine sectorial with regional interests and thus make everyone work for the common project. This would create prerequisites for the more active and interested participation in the work of the local soviets for resolving a number of production problems.

Let us take as an example the production of consumer goods and improving their quality. As we know, in accordance with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo a special program in this area is being formulated currently. This is a very relevant problem in our republic as well, in Riga in particular, where a number of enterprises producing consumer goods are concentrated. Let us point out that as a whole they are coping with their assignments successfully. In the first 2.5 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan alone, Riga's industry produced above-plan consumer goods worth 80.9 million rubles. In 1981 more than 21 percent of the overall amount of such goods were awarded the state Emblem of Quality. The Riga city and rayon soviets of people's deputies greatly contributed to these accomplishments. Problems related to the production of consumer goods and to upgrading their quality are regularly considered at the sessions of the city and rayon soviets and analyzed in detail at the session of their permanent commissions. The system of organizing deputy posts and groups directly at enterprises is extensively applied. Incidentally, in 1982 alone, based on the conclusions drawn by financial organs and specialists, the Riga Rayon executive committees passed resolutions on issuing additional assignments to enterprises for the production of such goods totaling 16 million rubles.

The participation of the city and rayon soviets in this important project is greatly determined by the fact that in addition to concern for ensuring better population supplies of all necessary items, the solution of such problems is consistent with their interests as well, for withholdings from the turnover tax are the main source of the city's budget revenue. Therefore, the level of production of goods in mass demand determines all in all the financial possibilities of the city. Obviously, the connection between industry and the activities of the local soviets should be more direct and cover all enterprises. So far withholdings for the budgets of the local soviets are made only by enterprises under their jurisdiction. We should equally point out that the actual possibilities of the local soviets are limited and that their plenary powers are insufficient. For example, they may see to it that

one enterprise or another sets up a specialized subunit for the production of consumer goods. However, they are unable to exert real control over the volumes and variety of such items. In the final account, it is the enterprise or the ministry which resolves all problems, frequently on the basis of its own departmental interests.

In order for the local soviets to be able to operate more efficiently, particularly in the areas where sectorial with territorial management come together, and in order for them to act as the representatives of the comprehensive approach to economic development and to oppose departmentalism, the range of problems under their jurisdiction should be expanded. They should be given powers similar to those of the people's control organs, which would enable them, if necessary, to hold heads of enterprises and organizations liable from the disciplinary or material viewpoints, regardless of their departmental affiliation. Incidentally, the activities of the people's control organs should be intensified as well.

This, however, is only one side of the problem. Taking administrative steps alone is obviously insufficient. It is necessary above all to improve the mechanism of management itself and to achieve efficient coordination in the work of its sectorial and regional units. We believe that this precisely is the main feature today in the area of strengthening the material foundations of socialist democracy in the activities of soviets on all levels and in developing the social self-management of labor collectives.

At the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized that the increased effectiveness of all institutions and forms of socialist democracy is determined both by the material possibilities of the society and the level of political consciousness and culture of the masses. This too has to be taken into consideration. As we know, Lenin pointed out that "... the more profound the change which we would like to make is, the greater we must make the interest and conscious attitude toward it and to convince millions and dozens of millions more people of the need for it" (op. cit., vol 42, p 140).

Involving millions and tens of millions of people in management is by far no simple matter. During the first years of the Soviet system tremendous difficulties had to be surmounted along this way. Unquestionably, today the question is posed on a different level. All aspects of our life have changed in the course of building socialism and so has man himself. The educational and cultural standards of the people have improved immeasurably. However, Lenin's stipulation on the need for "educational, organizational and cultural work" remains valid to this day.

What does this imply? Above all, the fact that the successful functioning of all democratic institutions requires more than culture in general. The general cultural standard is merely a prerequisite for the participation of the broad masses in the management of social affairs. Also needed is a high-level political standard. This includes a scientific, a Marxist-Leninist outlook, political knowledge of the socialist state, its principles, its mechanism of action and the sources of its strength and power, the people's



knowledge of their rights and obligations and norms of social life, mastering the methods and skills of management and the aspiration and inner need to participate in the management of social affairs. All of these qualities do not come by themselves but are shaped as a result of the purposeful ideological education work conducted by the party among the masses. This work, the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decree stipulates, is a matter for the entire party. It is "called upon to strengthen the unity between party and people, to enhance the communist convictions and political activeness of the working people and to develop their creative energy." Today the efforts of the Latvian Republic party organization are directed precisely to enhancing the efficiency of this work and raising it to the level of the major and complex problems resolved by the party in the course of improving developed socialism and socialist democracy.

In this case we proceed from the fact that along with developing ideological activities, the successful solution of socialist construction problems requires the intensification of organizational work. The distinguishing feature and major advantage of socialist democracy, as we noted, is the close combination of representative with direct democracy and the steady expansion and intensification of the latter. It has long become a tradition to pass the most important legislation, which affects the most essential aspects of social life, after a nationwide debate. Thus, more than 1 million people in our republic participated in discussions on the draft USSR Law on Labor Collectives and On Upgrading the Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments and Organizations. More than 15,000 meetings, addressed by some 60,000 people, were held in the course of the consideration of this important document, and hundreds of suggestions were submitted. Such practices are becoming increasingly popular in the activities of local soviets.

As we know, the sessions at which all most important problems are resolved in the range of competence of the soviets are the main organizational and legal form of soviet activities. As a rule, the consideration of most of them is preceded by extensive public discussions. For example, in preparing an item for discussion, the Riga City Soviet frequently turns to the population of the republic's capital through RIGAS BALSS, the city newspaper, with the request to express its remarks and suggestions which are then studied, summed up and taken into consideration in drafting the respective resolution.

The purpose of the increasing use of the elements of direct democracy in the activities of the soviets, which are the representative authorities, unquestionably lies in strengthening ties with the masses. However, this is impossible without publicizing their work. A great deal is being done in this respect. This includes reports by deputies to the voters and reports by leading personnel of executive committees to labor collectives and in residential areas. The scale of the work is confirmed by the fact that in 1982 alone more than 2,000 such meetings were held, attended by 350,000 voters. Open letter days have become popular in the republic. Today they are being held in all cities and rayons and at many enterprises and farms. The interest they generate is explained, above all, by the fact that they are not structured according to the ordinary report system but are based on letters sent by the citizens, which, as a rule, deal with topical and relevant problems which affect the people. The holding of single policy days at which

leading party, soviet and economic officials address directly the labor collectives, have proved their positive value. A most important role is played also by the electoral campaign meetings, which are usually of a practical nature and which not only deal with the nomination of candidates for deputies but also discuss the work of state organs and the way they implement voters' instructions, the exposure of difficulties and shortcomings and the ways to eliminate them.

The task today is to make such work more stable, so that the direct democracy in the activities of soviet and other management organs, including labor collectives, are manifested not only in the course of the implementation of various projects. In this connection, we believe, greater attention should be paid to the permanent commissions of the soviets. In the republic their membership includes 18,707 people, or 80 percent of the total number of deputies. It is precisely here that the main work is done in preparing items for consideration at the sessions. Their closer, one could say their daily contact with the population would enable us to take public opinion and the suggestions of the working people more into consideration. This, however, calls for making their work more public. The local press could be of great help in this connection as is being done, for example, by the Liyepaya city newspaper KOMMUNIST, which does not limit its work merely to publishing materials preceding one regular session of the city soviet or another, but also regularly covers the activities of its permanent commissions and executive committee departments and administrations. This coverage is tremendously useful.

Publicity of the work of soviets and other management organs is needed also so that the working people may participate more energetically in the management of social affairs. Considering the complexity and comprehensive nature of the problems which arise today, their solution would be simply inconceivable without the extensive involvement of the public. It is no accident, for example, that some 16,000 activists are participating in the work of the permanent commissions of the soviets in the republic. On the other hand, the skillful solution of these problems demands a professional approach, specialized training, knowledge, ability and practical experience. The very nature of our society and our country excludes transformation of state officials into some kind of separate elite stratum alienated from the people. However, we are not protected against the appearance of technocratic trends in their work or manifestations of bureaucratism. A great deal here depends on the militancy and principle-mindedness of the party organizations within the management apparatus. Unfortunately, however, they are not always and everywhere on the necessary level. Last July, for example, the bureau of the Proletarskiy Rayon party committee, CP of Latvia, discussed the implementation by the rayon executive committee of the decree passed by the Riga City party committee on further improvements in the work with the letters and complaints of the working people. The bureau was forced to point out the major existing shortcomings. Thus, no timely steps were taken in the case of 75 out of 97 complaints handled by the Housing Production Administration. Nor did the party organization of the executive committee apparatus display the necessary principle-mindedness.

How to struggle against such shortcomings? Naturally, above all by ensuring the proper choice of cadres for the administrative apparatus and by strictly

observing Lenin's requirement of approaching it: "... a. from the viewpoint of conscientiousness; b. the political stance; c. knowledge of the work; d. administrative capability..." (op. cit., vol 53, p 97). However, also needed are maximal publicity of the work of the administrative organs, comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism and most widespread control from below. On this subject Lenin said that "the more decisively we must call for a mercilessly firm authority and the dictatorship by individuals of specific work processes, and for purely executive functions at certain times, the more varied must be the ways and means of control from below in order to block any possibility of distorting the soviet system and pull out repeatedly and tirelessly the weeds of bureaucratism" (op. cit., vol 36, p 206).

Control from below is democratic control, one of the forms of participation of the masses in the administration of social affairs. The people's control organs, groups and posts, with their more than 109,000 members, play an exceptionally important role in the republic's life. Also active are the trade union and Komsomol organizations, the permanent commissions, the territorial and production deputy groups and the posts of the local soviets. We know that control activities require the knowledge and ability to understand a variety of production and financial problems. Therefore, the permanent and properly organized training of controllers is one of the mandatory prerequisites for upgrading control efficiency. So far, however, such training is provided only within the people's control system, although it is obvious that no one engaged in controlling economic activities should remain outside such work. Naturally, the people's control organs should be the initiators of such training. A departmental approach based on "yours" and "ours" is simply inadmissible in this case.

Another problem exists as well. The large number and widespread nature of the various forms of control, and all kinds of social groups, which total some 24,000 and have more than 350,000 members, force us to question the existence of a formal pursuit of quantity and volume indicators. It is no secret that this frequently leads to parallelism and duplication in the work and to the fact that the various commissions are essentially manned by the same people. This problem should be extensively studied and the necessary order established, guided by Lenin's advice: better less but better!

Deputy inquiries are an efficient control method. However, so far the deputies have used this right quite insufficiently. For example, in 1982 only 26 questions were submitted by local soviet deputies throughout the republic. What is the matter? Is it a question of timidity or inexperience? Obviously, it is. In this connection, the question arises of the training of our representative authorities and of the promotion of deputy candidates, particularly for the local soviets.

Today more than one-half of the 325 deputies to the republic's supreme soviet and 23,370 local soviet deputies are workers and kolkhoz members and production frontrankers. About 50 percent of the deputies are women and 34 percent are young people under 30; there are representatives of 28 nations and ethnic groups in our country. In terms of representation of all social strata and

groups and working people of all nationalities in the republic everything seems to be in order. Something else becomes noteworthy: the percentage of freshmen deputies. They account for 55.38 percent in the republic's supreme soviet and 44.53 percent in the local soviets. On the one hand, such renewability is naturally consistent with the spirit of our democracy and the stipulation of involving all citizens, as Lenin said, "in sharing directly and on a daily basis the burdens of administering the state" (op. cit., vol 36, p 74). On the other, every deputy must have his specific skills and ability to work with people. This, however, does not develop immediately. It requires time. The five-year term of supreme soviet deputies is entirely adequate to this effect, whereas the 2.5-year term for the local soviets is insufficient. Does the solution lie in reducing the number of newly elected deputies to the local soviets? Obviously not. We must improve our work in selecting candidates for deputies. In the course of their nomination and discussion, the labor collectives must take into consideration not only the production successes of one person or another, although this is important in terms of the prestige of the deputy, but also his organizing capabilities and inclination to engage in public work. In terms of comrades promoted to leading party work, delegates to the 26th Party Congress said that they should become tempered within the toiling masses and trained in practical work among the masses. We believe that this rule should be consistently observed in shaping the representative authorities. Every candidate for deputy should have a certain experience and training in public work within his labor collective. This type of approach can only help the further strengthening of the soviets as organs of the people's system and of representative democracy, an active, a working democracy.

The problems and tasks related to strengthening the effectiveness of the institutions and forms of socialist democracy, as we can see, are many. In resolving all of them we must, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "not fabricate abstract further ways and means of developing democracy but proceed from reality."

Unquestionably, enhancing the role and militancy of the party organizations and upgrading the level of party management of all realms of social life are the main prerequisites for success. This objectively stems from the fact that our party is the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society. It is precisely the party which ensures the implementation of a considered, a scientific policy, taking carefully into consideration the needs, requirements, interests and demands of all social and professional strata and the coordinated functioning of the political system and acts as a guarantor of the real exercise of the democratic rights of one and all to participate in the management of social affairs. It is precisely the party as the embodiment of the progressive consciousness and objectives of the society and as the political vanguard of the people which erects the main obstacle to the appearance and development of various manifestations of bureaucratism on one level or another of the social system and within the state management organs.

The party's implementation of its function as the political nucleus of society depends on the further development of intraparty democracy and the enhancement of the creative activeness, initiative and responsibility of the

party members. As was pointed out at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the more daringly and specifically the party members act in discussing the vital problems of the party and the country, and the more actively they participate in the implementation of resolutions, the more successfully will our party be able to carry out its historical mission. The entire efforts of the party organization and all party members in the republic are concentrated precisely on this. This is reflected in specific labor accomplishments, in improvements in the functioning of the entire governmental and economic mechanism and in enhancing the level of organization and discipline in all its units and the successful implementation of planned assignments. This is becoming the standard rule of life of the republic's labor collectives which are making their contribution to the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June and December 1983 Central Committee plenums.

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## COMBINING LEGISLATION, ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 41-49

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor I. Polyakov, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman]

[Text] The developed socialist society is a highly organized social system. Its efficient and harmonious functioning is inconceivable without the strict and steady observance of the laws and regulations of socialist community life and the strengthening of law and order and state and labor discipline. As the tasks of economic and cultural construction become more complex and as the scale of administrative activities broadens, the importance of the legal regulation of state life and of economic and social processes becomes increasingly important as well.

Our party always sees to it that the legislation takes as fully into consideration as possible the needs of the times and the existing requirements and trends of social life and rely on the practical experience of the people's masses. This requirement became the starting point in the drafting of the fundamental law--the USSR Constitution of 1977. As a document of tremendous political importance, the new constitution laid a firm state-juridical foundation under the constructive activities of the Soviet people at the mature socialist stage.

Our country has made substantial progress in all areas of economic and cultural construction since the adoption of the Constitution. The well-being of the Soviet people improved. Their spiritual potential increased and the participation of the working people in the administration of governmental and social affairs broadened.

The positive results of the systematic party line of improving socialist economic management, upgrading organization and discipline and enhancing the efficiency and responsibility of cadres were noted at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The pace of economic growth increased during the third year of the current five-year plan; quality indicators in industry, transportation and construction improved somewhat; agricultural production increased. Changes for the better occurred in virtually all economic sectors and in the social area, and the entire rhythm of our life quickened.

The efforts to improve legislation, based on the USSR Constitution, are having a beneficial influence on economic activities, the regulation of

social relations and the intensification of socialist democracy. One of its primary directions, as was noted at the 26th Party Congress, is national economic management, the exercise of the constitutional rights of the citizens and public organizations and the completion of the publication of an all-union code of laws.

Extensive work is being done along these main directions in our republic as well. According to the plan approved by the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the current legislation is being made consistent with the new USSR Constitution and the constitution of the Belorussian SSR. Laws were passed on the republic council of ministers and the oblast soviets of people's deputies, as well as laws regulating elections for soviets. A Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet regulation was approved and amendments and supplements were introduced in the laws on the rayon, city, city rayon, settlement and rural soviets. All of these legislative acts are aimed at the further development of the democratic principles governing the shaping and activities of the power organs and strengthening their ties with the masses.

Soviet legislative practice is based on the familiar Leninist stipulation according to which "every citizen must be placed under conditions which will enable him to participate in the discussion of governmental laws, the election of his representatives and the implementation of state laws" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 157). The procedure which was used in adopting the USSR Constitution offers outstanding examples of the creativity of the masses in the realm of governmental life and the manifestation of public opinion. The discussion of the draft of the Constitution was truly nationwide. Suffice it to recall that in our republic alone more than four-fifths of the adult population participated. Equally active was the participation of the working people in discussing the draft of the new BSSR constitution. The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" developed into a vivid manifestation of the vital strength of Soviet democracy, in the course of its discussion by the party organizations, labor collectives and mass information media.

The most important draft laws are tested in our society by the collective mind of the people, for a rostrum is made available to anyone who would like to express an opinion. The draft Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics took place with the extensive participation of the various population strata. In Minsk Oblast alone, for example, more than 3,000 meetings, attended by about 160,000 people, discussed this draft law and more than 12,000 people submitted various suggestions and remarks. No less active was the discussion of the draft in the other republic oblasts. Let us add to this the numerous letters to the editors of newspapers, the radio and the television.

Our laws, in the drafting of which not only state organs, public organizations, scientists, and highly skilled jurists and other specialists but also millions of people with practical experience participate, accumulate within them the people's wisdom, for which reason they have a tremendous vital power.

Let me take as an example the housing code of the BSSR, which was drafted in accordance with the Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, and which was approved at the December 1983 BSSR Supreme Soviet session. It was drafted with the direct participation of ministries, departments, trade union organs, executive committees of local soviets, deputies of the BSSR Supreme Soviet and scientists. The draft was considered by the republic Supreme Soviet Commission on the Municipal Services, Urbanization and Road Construction and the Commission on Legislative Proposals, which introduced some amendments and supplements to it. The republic trade unions council discussed, together with the ministries of the Housing and Municipal Services and Justice, the draft law at a special conference-seminar. Numerous meetings were held at plants, factories and construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. More than 53,000 people spoke out in the course of the discussions.

The current discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools" is of the same type of interested, one could say creative, nature.

In improving legislation, the communist party and the Soviet government particularly emphasize its enhanced efficiency and the strengthening of live organizational work which will ensure the precise and strict implementation of the laws and state plans and programs. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that a law is alive only when it is obeyed by everyone and everywhere.

Inherent in our Soviet way of life is a broad democracy, a clear separation of state and public functions and clearly earmarked citizens' rights and obligations. It would be erroneous, however, to consider that socialist legality operates automatically, by itself. Legal norms must be systematically and persistently applied and we must actively struggle for the precise observance of their stipulations. That is why the Soviet organs consider control over the implementation of the laws an important structural part of their work in managing economic and sociocultural construction.

For example, we know the great importance of environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources under the conditions of the tempestuous scientific and technical progress and the steady development of industry, transportation and agriculture. In our country, including Belorussia, this problem is resolved in such a way that economic activities do not disturb the natural balance and that nature may serve man forever. The republic has been systematically implementing an extensive environmental protection program. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone the total area of parks in cities and urban settlements was increased by 347,000 hectares. Within that time 57,000 hectares of exhausted peat and mineral quarries were recultivated.

The environment is protected on the basis of the Land Code, Ground Code, and Timber and Water Code adopted by the BSSR Supreme Soviet. In addition to them, at the beginning of this five-year plan the following laws were passed: "On the Protection of the Air" and "On the Protection and Utilization of the Animal World." The Belorussian SSR State Plan for Economic Development for 1981-1985 has a special section on "Environmental Protection."



In implementing environmental protection legislation, the party and soviet organs in the republic always keep in sight problems related to the thrifty utilization of natural resources. Let us consider reclamation which has been extensively developed in the Belorussian Polesye. Reclaimed land, the area of which exceeds 2.5 million hectares in the republic, account for one-third of our crop output, including 40 percent of the cattle feed. However, if unskillfully and unknowledgeably carried out, reclamation could cause great harm to the land. We realized this through direct experience. The initially prevailing view was that it would be sufficient simply to drain the swamps and the Polesye would surrender its resources to man. This idea was applied. The moisture from the swamps was channeled into the rivers, the level of groundwater was not controlled and no one considered the irrigation of the drained land. The cost of such wasteful interference with nature was high. The barren soil was exposed to erosion, forests disappeared and lakes flooded. Special measures were applied to correct the situation.

Today the reorganization of the Polesye depression is based on a long-term plan the implementation of which will result in the radical reconstruction of the flow of the Pripyat River and its confluents. A system of water reservoirs is being created to retain the waters during the autumn floods and abundant rainfall. The moisture of the drained lands is regulated strictly: water is supplied or drained as necessary. A total of 150,000 hectares of swampland has been left untouched. A landscaped hydrological preserve has been set up in the area bounded by the Pripyat, Stvig and Ubort rivers. Large areas in swamplands have been turned into preserves. Specialized animal husbandry farms are being set up on the reclaimed land. Twenty new and modern settlements have already been built here in which urban comforts are combined with the advantages of the rural way of life. The new sovkhoses which were set up on the previously swampy areas increased the overall production of meat from 5,500 to 10,500 tons and of milk from 25,000 to 40,000 tons during the 10th Five-Year Plan alone.

In a number of areas, however, we encountered a new problem. Scientific reclamation gave us additional land which, however, is not properly used everywhere. The drained peat bogs, including the shallow areas, are planted primarily in cultivated and grain crops rather than grasses and, "working" for export, become rapidly degraded. It has been established that for this reason every year the Belorussian fields lose some 34 million tons of humus soil. The republic is struggling against this nearsighted and faulty practice, and stricter requirements have been set for agricultural organs and kolkhoz and sovkhos managers and specialists. The BSSR Council of Ministers has approved a scientific general plan for the utilization of land resources through 1990 and has made it incumbent upon the land users to follow it in all sectors of the national economy. The elaboration of other environmental protection measures is continuing with the help of the BSSR Academy of Sciences institutes, VUZs and sectorial scientific and design institutions.

The republic's soviet organs are strictly controlling the observance of environmental protection legislation. Active work is being done in this area by the BSSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the Protection of the Environment and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources. It strictly controls the condition of the environment in cities and industrial centers, the sensible

utilization of the land and biological and mineral resources, the use of wasteless and low-waste technologies in industrial production, and so on.

In order to make its recommendations effective, the commission frequently considers sets of problems. Thus, at the end of 1983 it comprehensively discussed environmental protection work in Buda-Koshelevskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast. The commission's session was preceded by a thorough investigation with the participation of BSSR Supreme Soviet deputies and BSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection specialists. They visited a number of rayon farms, talked to their managers, specialists and local residents and studied available documentation.

The commission members were satisfied that the rayon soviet and its executive committee were paying great attention to environmental protection problems. The measures taken for the efficient utilization of the land and enhancing the fertility of the soil and farming standards were topics of a serious practical discussion held by the rayon soviet last summer. Environmental protection problems are systematically considered at sessions of the executive committees of the rayon and rural soviets and the permanent deputy commissions. A competition is under way between rural soviets and labor collectives for a careful behavior toward natural resources.

All of this is bringing certain results. During the 10th Five-Year Plan and the first 3 years of the 11th, arable land in Buda-Koshelevskiy Rayon was increased by 730 hectares and its fertility improved by about one-third. Meadows and pastures were radically improved on an area covering almost 9,000 hectares. Trees were planted on sandy soil unsuitable for agriculture. Students actively helped in this project. Ten school forestry offices, to which more than 1,200 hectares of forests were assigned, were set up.

However, as the permanent commission noted, the rayon is hardly taking all the extremely necessary and important steps which brook no delay. The worked-out peat bogs and mineral quarries must be recultivated faster. Delays and hesitations are impermissible in terminating the pollution of rivers, violations of rules governing the preservation and utilization of chemical fertilizers and toxic chemicals. Poaching is common. All of the shortcomings which were pointed out to the executive committee of the Buda-Koshelevskiy Rayon Soviet are characteristic, to one extent or another, of many other rayons, for which reason the extensive recommendations issued by the supreme soviet permanent commission directed soviet organs in the republic to make substantial improvements in their comprehensive environmental protection work.

In his speech at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized the importance of the State Plan as the law of economic life in all economic sectors covering thousands of enterprises, associations and organizations. This means that the soviets must focus their main efforts on organizing the implementation of the plans and ensuring the observance of state, planning and labor discipline.

The BSSR Supreme Soviet, its presidium and its permanent commissions steadily consider problems related to the implementation of planned assignments,

upgrading public production efficiency and ensuring the rational utilization of labor, material and other resources by ministries, departments and local authorities. An extensive investigation was made of the work of the enterprises under the republic - Ministry of Light Industry by the permanent commissions of the republic supreme soviet in the areas of consumer goods, trade and industry. The ministry's enterprises account for approximately 20 percent of the overall volume of Belorussian industrial output. The sector has 24 production associations and 66 enterprises.

The investigation of their work proved that despite unquestionable and substantial achievements, the sector suffered also from serious shortcomings. On the one hand, new production capacities are being installed, enterprises are being technologically retooled, production volumes are increasing, variety is being updated and quality is improving. On the other, capital investments are underutilized. In frequent cases poor use is made of productive capital. The production of goods in demand is stopped while, conversely, the production of unsaleable goods is continued.

The reasons for this situation were determined. They involve, above all, major omissions in the work with cadres, the still-low level of production and technological discipline in many enterprises, poor utilization of progressive experience and formalism in the organization of the socialist competition.

The BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the results of the investigation. It made it incumbent upon the Ministry of Light Industry to eliminate said shortcomings and issued specific recommendations aimed at ensuring the fuller utilization of existing reserves for increasing the production of consumer goods, increasing their variety and improving their quality.

Let us note that the work of the enterprises in this sector has now improved. They have overfulfilled their assignments for the third year of the five-year plan for the growth rates of their overall volume of output and marketing and the increase in labor productivity. More than 63 million rubles' worth of goods were sold above the plan. About 31 percent of certifiable goods were awarded the state Emblem of Quality. Substantial financial and material resources have been appropriated for the further development of the sector. The Zhlobin artificial leather factory in Gomel Oblast, the largest of its kind in our country, was commissioned and the production capacities in the Brest Carpet and Cloth Association, the Grodno fine-cloth combine, the clothing factory in Zhodino, the knitwear factory in Bobruysk and the Mogilev Silk Fabrics Production Association are being increased. The Baranovich Cotton Fabric Production Association, the Vitebsk Krasnyy Oktyabr' Shoe Factory, the Minsk Experimental Accessories Plant and other production facilities are being expanded and technically retooled.

Naturally, numerous bottlenecks and shortcomings remain in the Belorussian light industry. Greater enterprise and initiative and a more active reorientation of its work toward the needs and demands of the consumers are needed. The results achieved by the sector this five-year plan lay a good foundation for the organization of such work. This enabled the CPSU Central Committee

and USSR Council of Ministers to include the republic Ministry of Light Industry among the sectors in which an economic experiment has been under way from the start of this year, aimed at expanding the rights of production associations and enterprises in planning and economic activities and increasing their responsibility for work results. The labor collectives of the light industry enterprises in the republic welcomed this decision of the party's Central Committee and the union government with great enthusiasm. The experiment is under way. A commission set up by the BSSR Council of Ministers is coordinating and controlling its implementation.

Recently the republic soviet organs undertook to deal more specifically with problems of scientific and technical progress. The BSSR Supreme Soviet set up a specialized permanent Commission for Science and Technology to deal with such problems. At one of its last sessions it discussed the work of the Belorussian Republic Scientific Production Association for Powder Metallurgy. The commission noted that the association is doing a great deal to develop and apply in production new technological processes and materials. During the current five-year plan the association is implementing assignments included in 15 union, republic and target scientific and technical programs. Twelve sectors have specialized in the production of goods made of metal powders and in rebuilding parts of machines and tools using plasma and gas plasma spraying, which has increased their durability and saved 21 million rubles in 2 years. The commission adopted recommendations aimed at the further advancement of scientific and design developments in the association, their fastest possible practical utilization and accelerating the construction of a plant for the production of metallic powder items in Molodechno.

The most important problems related to the economy and the culture and well-being of the working people and to consumer services are submitted for consideration by the BSSR Supreme Soviet. Thus, at last year's regular session, it discussed the work of the republic soviets of people's deputies on the implementation of the Food Program. On the eve of its implementation, the members of the permanent commissions of the supreme soviet and scientists and specialists who assisted them made a thorough study of the local situation and the beginning of the work of the new management organs--the councils of agroindustrial associations--in all oblasts and a number of rayons, kol-khozes, sovkhoses and agricultural service enterprises. They analyzed the sensible utilization of the tremendous aid given by the state for strengthening the material and technical base and the economy of the farms, the lagging and losing ones above all.

A profound study of the situation was made at the session and the initial results of the implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum were summed up. Along with examples of a successful approach to the solution of the new problems which arose in connection with the implementation of the production program by some rayon soviets, such as Vileyskiy, Slutskiy, Kobrinskiy and Bobruyskiy, the deputies cited other facts as well. It was noted that the soviet organs in a number of rayons have not changed their workstyle. The councils of agroindustrial associations they set up limit themselves to the solution of minor current problems. No reciprocal contact has been organized with construction organizations or

Sel'khoztekhnika and Sel'khozkhimiya subunits. Methods of labor organization and wages based on end results are poorly applied in agricultural production.

The results of this collective discussion were reflected in the republic's supreme soviet decree the implementation of which is supervised by its presidium and permanent commissions. The set of measures which were drafted and are being implemented in relation to the Food Program has already yielded certain positive results. Compared to 1982, last year gross output in the agrarian sector of the economy increased by 9 percent. Farm crop and cattle productivity yields increased which made it possible to overfulfill somewhat the plans for state purchases of basic crop and animal husbandry goods and to improve milk and meat supplies to the population. We realize that these are merely the initial steps and that the bulk of the work lies ahead.

The BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium focuses on specific problems of the economy, culture, services and upbringing of the population through its management of the local soviets. The latter are dealing with planning and budget problems in an increasingly skilled manner; the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems is becoming an increasing part of their practical work. Material, financial and other resources of enterprises under different departmental affiliations are being persistently identified and utilized with a view to improving the people's working and living conditions. This five-year plan, by combining the funds of these enterprises, the Minsk City Soviet is planning to build some 3 million square meters of housing, to expand the network of children's preschool institutions by another 17,000 places and increase the capacity of public catering enterprises by 10,000 seats. This does not include construction financed out of the soviets' funds. This program is being implemented. Thus, this five-year plan housing facilities in the city are expanding by approximately 800,000 square meters per year or by 15,000 to 16,000 apartments.

Work based on voters' instructions is an important area in the activities of the soviet organs in implementing economic and social development plans. Such work helps to find additional possibilities of improving production and ensuring the fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the working people. Every year new schools, kindergartens, nurseries, hospitals, stores, cafeterias and other social projects are being completed in our republic on the basis of voters' instructions. The amenities in villages and towns are being steadily improved and so is work with trade and service institutions. The standard of cultural services to the population is rising.

The BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ascribes great importance to the study, summation and dissemination of anything new and instructive developed by the local authorities in the course of their practical work. For example, the practical experience of the deputies of the Lipskiy Rural Soviet, Minsk Oblast, in strengthening state and labor discipline in the light of the requirements of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which we approved, met with a good response in the republic. Taking it as an example, a number of local soviets began to deal more extensively with problems of labor organization. They have intensified their struggle against working

time losses, cadre turnover and negligence. The Lyubcha Rural Soviet, Mogilev Oblast, and the board of the local XVII Parts"yezd Kolkhoz skillfully organized such work. Every working person in the farm is aware of the indicators that must be reached by him personally and by his brigade or farm so that the kolkhoz may fulfill the state plan as a whole. He also knows that such plans are backed by the necessary material and other resources and that his earnings directly depend on end results and his contribution to the implementation of production assignments. Such an organization of the work call for strict accounting of the work done. Every year the kolkhoz issues bulletins indicating the implementation of the shift production norm by individuals and the percentage of the implementation, and the level of individual earnings. The results of the labor efforts of the people for the day, the 5-day period, the month, the half-year or the year are now entirely clear. This has substantially improved labor discipline and the effectiveness of the socialist competition. As a result, the kolkhoz members' labor productivity this five-year plan has increased by 46 percent. Wages increased by 32 percent. Earnings per ruble invested in production equal 80 kopeks.

The soviets of people's deputies, which have been granted extensive rights, systematically verify the implementation of decrees, supervise organs under their jurisdiction and hold leading cadres in state and economic institutions personally accountable. During 1983 some 36,000 items were considered at sessions of local republic soviets alone, pertaining to industry, construction, agriculture, transportation, communications, trade and public catering enterprises, health care institutions, and so on. Deputy inquiries, studies of citizens' petitions and complaints, and analyses of material carried by the press and other mass information media play a major role in the soviets' implementation of their supervisory functions. Ties and interaction between governmental and public, people's control are strengthening.

The greater attention which the soviet organs pay to the economy and to the main problems of economic and sociocultural construction and their efforts to improve legislation and strengthen control over its observance are contributing to the successful implementation of the five-year plan by the Belorussian working people. The pace of socioeconomic development achieved by our republic in 1983 was higher than the average for the preceding 2 years. Tasks related to the growth of labor productivity and other economic indicators, including reducing production costs and increasing profits, were implemented. All in all, over the past 3 years the volume of industrial output increased by 15 rather than 13 percent as planned. The assignment for the first 3 years of the five-year plan on commissioning productive capital from all sources of financing was fulfilled 102 percent.

While rendering its due to the work already done, we should point out that the republic soviets are not as yet fully exercising their legal and organizational functions in the struggle for the implementation of state plans and the strict observance of the laws. Pretentious bureaucratic methods of leadership and a narrow departmental approach to the work have not been eliminated in isolated units of the state and economic apparatus. Violations of planning and financial discipline and breakdowns in material and technical procurements occur frequently. Instead of harnessing reserves, some managers

try to obtain easier working conditions, reduced assignments and more time for their implementation. Labor discipline is inadequate and cadre turnover and working time losses are high in many enterprises, associations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses and some construction organizations.

The soviets and their law and order organs must further increase their struggle against delinquencies, without which the normal functioning of social life and the protection of state interests and the rights and freedoms of the citizens cannot be ensured. It is even less admissible when officials, who must protect the Soviet laws, violate socialist legality. Unfortunately, this does happen occasionally. Thus, in investigating a particularly severe crime committed in Mozyrskiy Rayon in our republic, some militia workers allowed the commission of illegal actions and even major violations on the part of the prosecutors' organs and the court, as a result of which innocent people suffered. The Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Buro gave a principle-minded rating to this exceptionally rare event. The individuals who allowed illegal actions in the investigation of the case were prosecuted. The Belorussian SSR minister of internal affairs, the republic prosecutor and other senior officials were given a party punishment and fired. The law enforcement authorities were instructed strictly to observe the letter and the spirit of the laws. The republic soviets and their executive committees, who learned a lesson from this case, began to pay greater attention to the work of the administrative organs and to supervise them more closely.

The extensive scope which the campaign for USSR Supreme Soviet elections has assumed is the best possible contribution to improvements in soviet administrative and control activities. At electoral meetings and meetings with candidates for deputies not only constructive accomplishments and successes in various economic and cultural sectors are discussed. Critical assessments are made of accomplishments and difficulties and shortcomings in state management and the work of the soviet and economic apparatus are brought to light.

In collecting the experience of the masses and strengthening their ties and relying on them, the republic soviets are focusing their efforts on improving the level of management of the economy and social processes, strengthening order and organization and ensuring the efficient and full implementation of party directives and Soviet laws.

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CSO: 1802/8

## CLASSES MUST BE MORE EFFECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 50-53

[Article by M. Nechkina, USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences member]

[Text] "... Students must work more actively with books and other sources of knowledge. They must be helped to think independently."

From the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools."

Actively acquired knowledge, related to the activities of the student, is much more durable and deep compared to knowledge passively drilled into student's head. Do the schools use all available possibilities of energizing the acquisition of knowledge? By no means. One of the most rewarding among them, in our view, is reorganizing the structure of the lesson itself.

It is well-known that in the majority of cases the teaching of the lesson is structured as follows: the first part, the most valuable (students are not as yet tired and are waiting for the new knowledge) goes to "control steps:" the questioning of students and their answers based on the "lesson they have learned." The "worst"--second--part, when the class is already tired from the first part of the lesson which is uninteresting to the majority, is used by the teacher for the presentation of the new material, which is grasped by the tired students worse than the first part. The school, the student and the teacher pay a high price for this time loss. By restructuring the lesson and replacing a passive with an active perception we could almost double the time for developing the active perception.

Could this be accomplished under the circumstances of today's schools? We believe that it could. We base this assumption on pedagogical experience, including our own.

Let us consider the history of the problem. In our view, the existing lesson structure is obsolete. It was developed at a time when students had no textbooks. Books were a rarity. The teacher who had drawn knowledge from them considered himself lucky. In virtually all cases the teacher transmitted his knowledge to the students verbally and the latter perceived it aurally. That is why priority was given to the verbal presentation by the teacher and its aural perception.



The centuries passed, however, and the printed book gained priority, shoving aside the verbal presentation. Slowly, schoolbooks began to appear and so did textbooks. Although initially difficult to acquire, they nevertheless appeared. Reading--a visual act and part of human thinking--assumed priority in instruction. The saying that "one picture is worth a thousand words," although hackneyed, is worth remembering. Reading is one of the most important means of gaining knowledge.

Let us also recall the important circumstance that most people have a visual (rather than aural!) memory.

However, the structure of many types of lessons we described prevails in a number of subjects. Why is it that today as well, the new material is presented in class only verbally, by the teacher, to the curious adolescents who have already read many books, who read newspapers and periodicals and who could absorb in a single evening a thick and rather complex mystery novel? Furthermore, all that is demanded of the adolescent is to read more or less the same thing at home in a textbook, while doing his homework. The next day, before the new lesson is taught, the mental condition of the student is composed essentially of the following elements:

The excited recollection of what was heard the previous day and read the previous evening;

A stressed premonition: Will I be called? Will I not be called? (Oh, thank God, I was not called...);

An unpleasant and perplexed expectation of unexpected "tricky" questions;

The subsequent and gradual withdrawal into the foggy "already happened."

Another day comes, and then the tenth, the hundredth...

It is believed that is the way "the outlook is shaped!" How could an outlook be shaped without the active element, the action of the mind?

We believe that the time has come to change this type of structure of the lesson, which predominates in a number of subjects (various tests are being made to this effect, frequently successfully and, happily, everywhere). They call for "turning around" the structure, putting it "upside down," i.e., letting the students draw new knowledge from reading the proper textbook. Let them digest it. And then let them discuss it with the teacher at school and together arrive at conclusions.

This could be accomplished more or less as follows:

At the end of the preceding lesson, shortly before the bell has rung (the students are already familiar with the new structure), the teacher tells the class (in a history lesson, for example) the following:

"For the next lesson we shall study a new topic: the French bourgeois revolution of 1789. Read carefully pages thus-and-such in your textbook. We shall discuss that in tomorrow's lesson."

The teacher then enumerates three or four most important and logically inter-related components of the new topic, such as:

1. The class stratification in France on the eve of the revolution;
2. The king's power;
3. The "ancien regime" as a whole;
4. The ripening of the revolution.\*

The list of questions shows that the entire topic will take more than one lesson. At this point we are discussing the study of the first part of the topic.

At home the student will read and consider the pertinent section in the textbook. He must be taught how to read a scientific book (which, naturally, a textbook is). This is perhaps the most important element in the slogan "learning to learn." This should be the topic of a separate article. For the time being, let us briefly point out some important advice: Do not read a new text for the first time in order to remember it; read it in order to understand it, in order to penetrate into the logic of the presentation, to note the new facts and the arguments leading to the conclusion, and to consider both.

Let us interrupt our presentation while the student alone is studying the text at home for the first time, to ask the following: Could all subjects be studied in this manner? Yes to history and yes to literature; what about chemistry? Yes, we are convinced that the study of a number of lessons in other subjects could be organized similarly. In undertaking the study of the topic, at the preceding lesson the teacher gives the topic and raises the basic, the leading questions. Naturally, he indicates the pages in the textbook where all of this can be found. During the next lesson the teacher will conduct the necessary experiments in physics or chemistry.

Therefore, tomorrow's lesson has been read and thought about. The evening goes by and the next day the lesson, the text of which has already been read in the textbook, will be taught. The book has answered the questions raised by the teacher yesterday! The text has been read conscientiously and with understanding. The leading questions have drawn to themselves facts, like a magnet. This has taken place either to a certain extent or entirely through the thinking of the students. Perhaps a great deal has been understood;

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\* The order of the questions is somewhat different from the one given in the textbook. I have named the components arbitrarily. In my view, the study of the great French enlighteners--Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau--should be the topic of the lesson after that.

something else, not entirely, while something else again the student has been unable to understand at all. This triggers the questions which the student will ask the teacher. It is with this baggage that the student goes to school. His psychological condition, quite different from the one we already described, consists of roughly the following components:

I already know something. The explanation of what I don't understand will be interesting;

An interest has been created in the subject as a result of reading and thinking about it;

The anticipation of the live contact with the teacher is clear. The teacher will explain what was not understood, the students will listen with pleasure to what he knows and will volunteer something he considers necessary or interesting;

The lack of fear of the unknown or of a tricky question is an important element in the students' mood;

The feeling that he will not be "called" by the teacher but that he himself, the student, will ask to answer questions is pleasant and even instills "pride."

The lesson begins with the analysis of the new knowledge some of which has already been absorbed by the students instead of the tedious and boring "interrogation:" "Well, you there, answer."

The subsequent events develop roughly as follows: the teacher does not unexpectedly ask someone a question. He asks:

"Who would like to answer the first question?"

Let us say that four students raise their hands. The teacher will point at one of them. The student will not simply "present" the first question according to the textbook but will indicate what he failed to understand, will ask a question of the teacher and will show an interest in an aspect of the subject not mentioned in the textbook. He will also describe the technique of his work. "I first read the text to understand everything and the second time to remember it." He could rate the text he has read: "A difficult presentation" or "Lively, well-presented, easy to memorize." The student must realize that he not only has the right to ask questions of his teacher in the course of his presentation but also that the teacher will listen to him attentively and even with pleasure.

Let the first student stand not "in profile," facing the window, but facing the class. He acts as a "reporter" on an important, just-learned question which no one has explained to him as yet. It would be suitable for the student to have a small desk on which he could put notes on his questions relating to the text and mark unclear passages.

The teacher answers the questions not immediately but only after the other three who raise their hands and express their willingness to answer the first question raised the previous day have made their presentation. The teacher advises them not to repeat what has already been said but merely to add something, to argue, to agree, to ask their own questions or to state that they have the same question as the first or another student. After the presentation by the four students, the teacher briefly sums up the most important features of the topic and carefully answers the questions in the sequence of the logic of his conclusion. The teacher also discusses the technique of the reading, points out what remains unnoticed or was poorly perceived, instructs how to work with and learn from the book, praises the good answers and encourages those who have answered poorly.

This is repeated with the other subtopics of the lesson. There is plenty of time, not for half a lesson but for a full one! The elements of a certain "regulation" could be carefully introduced as well by delicately establishing certain time limits for the speakers plunging into excessive "details."

The teacher has allocated some time toward the end of the lesson for reaching a general conclusion on this part of the topic: he has formulated the leading questions for the next lesson and indicated the pages in the textbook to be read. If necessary, he has indicated additional sources and drawn the attention of the students to illustrations in the textbook....

During the next lesson (usually the number of students eager to speak increases!) the teacher questions different students, involves in the discussion poor and silent ones, encourages them and advises them to speak during the following lesson. He says: "You see how everything is interesting! It is time for you to have your say, to prove yourselves!" A naive statement should not be derided but gently corrected. Gradually the entire class becomes involved! There will be no lack of desire to speak on the part of the students. It is a question of the teacher's tact as to what use to make of such activeness. This method has been tried in practice.

There comes a time when a lesson winds up a major topic or, sometimes, even an entire section of the textbook. In those cases the teacher allocates for himself more time at the end of the hour. He draws the general conclusion on the major problem, repeats the main trends and emphasizes the heart of the matter. At the very end he announces the grades of those who have spoken throughout the preceding lessons (it is virtually guaranteed that there will be no "unsatisfactoriness!"); the teacher must only verbally mention a poor grade and the means to correct it and sometimes (infrequently!) even to appoint a "reporter." He must deal circumspectly with silent students and determine the reasons for the silence (poor health, skipped classes and homework because of carelessness or lack of a place to study at home, and so on).

What is this? Is it a play at a scientific session in which the teacher is the chairman while the students are reporters and participants in debates?

Why not if this will help the student to study? Most students quickly adopt the method of the "upside-down lesson" and the number of excellent students on this subject justifiably increases.

This doubles the "best time" of the lesson!

All of this is not fantasy but the result of experiments in work with young people of different ages in secondary schools and many worker faculties and individual groups of young lovers of one science or another.

Thus, let the student "learn how to learn," how to draw knowledge from the books, how to learn properly and present with interest his knowledge gained from his reading. Let the laboratory for acquiring knowledge become apparent during the lesson, and let there be as much inspiration as possible in the efforts to gain knowledge!

Naturally, the question of textbooks arises at this point. Does this method require entirely new training works, school aids and new textbooks? Generally speaking, yes, it is better to have textbooks especially adapted to the system of individual work by the students. However, the current textbooks could in a number of cases be fully adapted to the new learning structure and many of them can be easily made to suit their new use.

Naturally, all of this cannot be achieved by waving a magic wand. However, we shall never reach our objective--normalizing the work of the student--without transforming the obsolete and backward structure of the lesson whenever necessary.

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CSO: 1802/8

## CONTINUOUS EDUCATION SYSTEM--CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 54-64

[Article by Dr of Technical Sciences Prof A. Vladislavlev]

[Text] The need for steadily enhancing the general educational, professional and cultural standards of every individual is becoming apparent with increasing clarity under socialism. It is based on the requirements of the contemporary stage in building communism and the interests of the people themselves. The educational system, which covers more than one-third of the population, has become one of the decisive factors in our country's socioeconomic progress. "Improving developed socialism is inconceivable without extensive work for the spiritual development of the people," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of education in the historical process, for it is precisely education which, by equipping the people with the necessary knowledge and shaping their outlook, ensures the mental growth of the individual, contributes to the appearance and intensification of his cultural requirements and largely determines the reasons for his activities.

One of the most important achievements of the Soviet system is that it exposed millions of people to the treasury of knowledge. A tremendous leap was made from the mass illiteracy which prevailed in prerevolutionary Russia, where the people's masses, as V. I. Lenin said, "were plundered in terms of education, light and knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 127), to the current situation in which 858 of every 1,000 people employed in the country have higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education, while the overall number of specialists with higher and secondary specialized training employed in the national economy has exceeded 30 million. Today as well the power of our state lies not only in its industrial and economic potential but in the tremendous potential of sociopolitical, scientific and technical and cultural knowledge of the population. More than ever before, in the Soviet Union such knowledge is materialized in production, in the labor of millions of people, in the great achievements of science, technology and culture and in social life itself.

While properly acknowledging achievements in this area, the party devotes steady efforts to ensure the further enhancement of public education. The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School" is a document of major political importance, affecting the interests of the entire Soviet people. In connection

with the socioeconomic and spiritual progress of the socialist society we must refine the tasks of public education at the new stage and improve the structure of the education process, the system for its management and the content of the training and education process. We must radically improve the training of the young generation for work and enhance the social status of the teacher.

At the same time, the entire public education system must be improved and an entire set of problems must be efficiently solved.

First, reality dictates the need to change the nature of the country's education system. So far, the objective was systematically to enhance the general educational standard of the population and to train a maximum number of specialists, for the needs of the state for skilled cadres greatly exceeded the scale of their training.

This objective has been implemented steadily. The general educational standard of the population kept growing while higher and secondary specialized training increased at a high pace. The number of VUZ and technical school students increased from 360,000 in 1927 to 9.8 million in the 1982/83 school year.

It looked as though the established trend of quantitative growth of such indicators would continue in the foreseeable future. During the 1970s, however, the growth rates of higher and secondary specialized education slowed down sharply: whereas between 1960 and 1970 the number of technical school students increased by 113 percent, i.e., it more than doubled, while the number of VUZ students increased by 91 percent, i.e., it almost doubled, between 1970 and 1980 the number of students in secondary specialized schools increased by no more than 5 percent and that of VUZ students by 14 percent.

Naturally, this transition from a fast increase in the number of students to a relative stabilization was not accidental. It meant that of late the systemic laws which substantially change the qualitative and quantitative characteristics in education, aimed at making it consistent with the other realms of social life, have been playing an increasingly greater role.

In other words, the situation radically changed: secondary education was extended to virtually the entire growing generation, while the national economy was secured with specialists with different qualifications. Under these circumstances the previously customary, most important quantitative indicators (number of students, extent of the various forms of education, average number of years of training, and so on) lost their dominant significance. It became obvious that the development of the education system, essentially in its extensive forms, was becoming unjustified. All of this required an essentially new approach in which all basic indicators in the education and cadre training system should be based strictly on the needs of the national economic complex. The task of upgrading their quality remained as urgent as in the past.

Second, the introduction of universal secondary education led to the fact that the inclusion of young people of working age in the various forms of

full-time training became so great as to begin substantially to limit the flow of new manpower resources into the national economy. The percentage of young people attending school on a full-time basis increased.

Furthermore, the introduction of universal secondary education led to the fact that young people enter material production at age 17-18 with virtually no productive labor skills. This problem is resolved by increasing the number of vocational-technical schools, but this affects only a share of the student youth. Yet it is precisely the balance which determines the structure of the majority of the students who enter material production even later, at the age of 22 or 23.

It is well-known that alternating training with properly organized productive labor upgrades the efficiency of training and that a regular change in types of activity significantly lowers the level of fatigue experienced by the students and contributes to making better use of their mental powers. At the same time, lengthy schoolwork, as K. Marx pointed out, to quote from the report of the Seventh Annual Congress of the National Association for the Encouragement of the Social Sciences, "is not only sterile but directly harmful to the children, wasting their time, health and energy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 495). Qualities which the builders of communism must possess, such as collectivism, industriousness, social responsibility, discipline, worker pride and the feeling that they are the masters of their country, are fully shaped only within the system of socialist production relations, in the course of production activities. Their absence is the main reason for a consumerist mentality, egotism, philistine features, and indifference to the concerns and projects of the people, which develop among some of the youth.

We are well-familiar with Lenin's viewpoint regarding student labor: "The Communist Youth League must raise everyone over 12 in a spirit of conscientious and disciplined labor" (PRAVDA, 7 October 1920). Later reprints substituted the words "from a youthful age" for "from the age of 12" (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 318).

The tremendous importance of sensibly combining learning with labor by the youth has been pointed out in a number of addresses by party and government leaders, particularly in the special CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improving the Education and Upbringing of the Students in General Educational Schools and Preparing Them for Work," which was adopted in 1977; the same is found in the supplement which was included as a result of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution to Article 42 on banning not all child labor but only "child labor unrelated to training and labor upbringing."

Therefore, the traditional view on the correlation between general education training and labor upbringing in secondary schools is changing. Currently, general education training should be combined not simply with the acquisition of labor skills but with the mandatory participation of every student in contemporary productive work. The main task of the secondary school is to give the students general educational and vocational training.



Third. For a long period of time the concept according to which the training period was considered a period of preparations for work within a clearly defined time segment predominated in the realm of education. Today the intensive development of the various methods for enhancing cadre skills and other trends in adult education, whether full-time or on the job, makes it necessary to revise this view as well.

In fact, the increased complexity of the structure of requirements of the national economy for skilled cadres has led to a rapid increase in the number of subjects in vocational, secondary specialized and higher education. At the same time, it has become drastically more difficult to coordinate the need for cadres with the production structure. Such disparities, based on its highly dynamic nature inherent in the contemporary production process, leads to the fact that an increasing number of higher school graduates begin to work immediately after their assignment in an area not in their strictly specialized field, and some of them even entirely outside their field.

In other words, the efficiency of the specialized and vocational training systems substantially drops as a result of the insufficient utilization of the potential of knowledge acquired by the young specialists.

The fast organizational and technical changes taking place in various economic sectors demand a continuous updating of the knowledge needed for performing work in accordance with requirements within the same field over a long period of time. Another factor is the appearance of new professions at a rate which cannot be matched by the current secondary specialized and higher education system due to a certain inertia. Research has indicated that professional knowledge in most areas becomes obsolete over a period of 8 to 10 years. Furthermore, every year old professions vanish and many new ones appear in the national economy for which, as a rule, the schools begin to train cadres with a certain delay. Therefore, the labor resources acquire knowledge and skills which will not be needed in the future. Meanwhile, it becomes necessary steadily to train further or to retrain people at work, who left school a long time ago.

Finally, we must note that the increased level of general and vocational training of the working people in turn increases their need for education. A number of studies have determined the existence of a stable tie between the level of education and the desire of the people to enhance it, expressed in their activeness in acquiring new skills and broadening their outlook and general cultural standard. In such cases the people are not satisfied with acquiring a traditional education. Instead, they resort to all available channels for increasing their knowledge. Self-training becomes more important.

The other side of this law should be considered as well: the lower a person's level of education is, the less is his desire to pursue his studies, develop his mental capabilities and display creative initiative. Ignoring such a feature in education policy and relying on uncontrolled development, leads to a situation in which along with a general enhancement in the cultural standard of the population a polarization develops: on the one hand, a concentration of people with a steadily increasing level of education; on the other, a

growing mass of people who systematically fall behind in their spiritual growth, which can only affect their social activeness. The fact that this is an entirely real possibility is confirmed, for example, by the following data: In 1980 people's universities in the USSR were attended by one out of every 19 persons; however, this applied to one out of six individuals with higher or incomplete higher education, one out of 11 with secondary (general and specialized training), and only one out of 15 with incomplete secondary education.

The enumeration of such problems could be extended. It is more important to note, however, that despite their different content, all of them stem from the same roots. The consideration of any one of them would indicate that the difficulties which arise in their solution are partially related to traditional concepts regarding education as something which precedes or is separate from production. Although the training and retraining of people already at work has always existed, the main attention was focused on young people's education. It was assumed that the main task of the educational system--with the growth of the material and cultural well-being of the people, on the one hand, and the growing possibilities of the educational system, on the other--was to ensure that all young people acquire the necessary education before the start of their labor careers. The real situation, however, proved to be significantly more complex.

The lack of a great variety of knowledge in the adult population employed in public production, even those with most advanced training (vocational, general educational, cultural, political, economic, etc.) is becoming increasingly tangible. In the same way that students today cannot learn exclusively in the classroom but must combine their education with productive labor, the adults cannot merely work but must mandatorily combine their work with study.

Actually, the idea of adult education is nothing essentially new. However, the objectives of such education have substantially changed and broadened and a new understanding of its role and prospects has come about.

Whereas in the past it was considered essentially as a compensation for shortcomings in general and vocational training,\* today priority is given to the need for a steady adaptation of the person to increasing changes in the world around us. Furthermore, the need for steadily identifying the creative possibilities of the individual, whose comprehensive development the CPSU considers the base of all social progress, is becoming increasingly realized by the masses.

Adult education has become a powerful area for the dissemination of knowledge. Its scope is expanding at an inordinately fast pace, considerably outstripping that of the basic training system. Thus, whereas in 1965 less than one-third of all students were working adults who attended courses,

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\* We have in mind not shortcomings in the content of public education but the impossibility, by virtue of one circumstance or another, to make full use of its services prior to the start of a labor career.

technical schools and institutes or took various retraining and skill upgrading courses, for the first time in 1980 their share exceeded the 50 percent mark, totaling more than 50 million people. This does not include tens of millions of students within the political and economic training system, people's universities and other types of adult education.

Therefore, two processes--the introduction of productive labor in the education system and the invasion of education in public production--erode the lines separating these areas and lead to their rapprochement and interpenetration. The unity of previously divided systems (training-educational and labor) will increasingly determine the activities of the citizens of the socialist society from childhood to adulthood. In other words, along with the extensively developed scientific and technical revolution, social and economic progress insistently demand the permanent presence of education and work in the life of any person (sometimes on a parallel basis and sometimes alternating). It is precisely this which determines the approach to shaping the concept of long-term development of education in the mature socialist society and changes the existing principle governing the organization of the system, setting as the most important task that of ensuring the continuity of education needed by every individual for the sake of successful production and social activity.

Fourth, the fast socioeconomic and spiritual progress and high dynamism of the socialist society and the powerful invasion of the scientific and technical revolution in all social areas lead to steady changes in the content of education. Most of the participants in discussions on this matter try to include in the training curricula anything which a person may need in the course of his working career.

Naturally, this aspiration is entirely justified. Under contemporary conditions, however, when it would be inexpedient substantially to increase the number of years of training in secondary and higher schools, while the volume of necessary knowledge will be growing intensively, such an aspiration hinders the elementariness of education and the training of specialists with truly broad skills. This is confirmed by long experience in the experimental implementation of frequently diametrically opposed viewpoints regarding the content of the training programs in secondary and higher schools.

This contradiction can be resolved only through the efficient interaction among existing educational subsystems and the creation of an additional organized yet quite flexible subsystem for adult education, which would relieve the curricula of secondary and higher schools from a number of truly necessary areas of knowledge. Furthermore, the constructive interaction between secondary and higher schools and the adult education subsystem and the possibility of the continuing or temporary transfer of one specific educational task and objective or another from the first to the second subsystem would enable us to adapt more efficiently and more flexibly and painlessly the educational system to steadily changing requirements. This would require the coordinated restructuring of the entire system.

The above leads to the following conclusions:

The tremendous changes which have taken place in all of our social areas in recent decades should be accompanied by the extensive development of scientifically substantiated prospects for the educational system and, perhaps, essentially new ways leading to its advancement.

The development of the educational system in the USSR covered several stages: in the 1930s an end was put to illiteracy and universal mandatory primary education was introduced; universal partial secondary education was introduced in the 1950s; the conversion to universal secondary education was completed during the 1970s. At the same time, higher and secondary specialized education developed at a high pace. The new stage in cadre education and training is based on the need for a unified continuous education system fully consistent with the country's socioeconomic requirements.

The contemporary level of production forces and production relations and the tremendous successes achieved in the field of education created prerequisites for making the preparations for and systematic conversion to a continuing education system a topical task for the 1980s.

The transformation of science into a direct social productive force, the need to shorten the time between the appearance of a scientific idea and its practical utilization and the interdependence and fast differentiation and integration of scientific disciplines formulate specific requirements for the educational system. They are the following:

Intensifying its development and expanding its boundaries so that it could encompass virtually all adult population groups;

Standardizing basic education, resting on a foundation which is oriented above all toward the most general and fundamental principles of science and technology, the extensive utilization of problem training methods and training the students on all levels for activities related to the formulation and resolution of independent assignments;

Improving ideological-political and moral upbringing and aesthetic and physical development and molding an active life stance in the builder of communism;

Energizing labor education and training, participation in productive toil and shaping economic and managerial skills;

Comprehensively increasing the responsibility of the students for the quality of the training and the observance of school and labor discipline;

Individualization of training, comprehensively cultivating the skills needed for independent acquisition of knowledge and ability to be oriented in the vast amounts of information, find the necessary sources and work with them;

Increasing the flexibility and mobility of the structures of the educational system, enhancing its efficiency and strengthening its ties with reality;

Developing in the young generation a psychological need for continuing education throughout life and providing every member of society with the possibility of acquiring all kinds of necessary knowledge.

These requirements were fully reflected in the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School." This document, which was the result of the profound scientific development of a complex set of problems facing the education system under contemporary conditions, constitutes an unprecedented qualitative leap in the development of education. The CPSU Central Committee draft defines the ways to resolve the most important problems and pertains to the basic area of education activities, for universal secondary education is extended to all members of the socialist society and lays the foundations for their further development.

At the same time, the implementation of these requirements facing the education system, including all its subsystems and organized methods, will take place through the creation of a unified system for the continuing education of the Soviet people, which will offer anyone, regardless of his previous level of training, the possibility of acquiring systematized knowledge throughout his entire creative life. In this case the reform of the general education and vocational school makes it possible as of now to undertake the formulation of the concept of continuing education.

The question of the continuing education system, based on the integration of school training with centralized adult education, has drawn in recent years the attention of an increasing number of specialists. They base their developments on the stipulation of the 24th CPSU Congress to the effect that "in our time developments in all areas are so rapid that education acquired in youth is merely a base which requires a steady addition of knowledge."

"... Continuing education," said N. K. Goncharov, member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, addressing the first all-union scientific congress on problems of continuing education under the contemporary conditions of social progress and the scientific and technical revolution (1978), "should be considered a principle in the system and methods for meeting the intellectual, sociopolitical, professional, ethical and aesthetic needs of the person, a principle which runs through and unifies the entire public education system and all channels of educational influence." It must ensure the systematic acquisition and advancement of knowledge, skills and habits in all types of general and specialized schools and through self-education. The unified system of continuing education must encompass preschool educational institutions, full-time, night and correspondence schools, various types of vocational-technical schools, full-time, night and correspondence secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, postgraduate studies, institutes, faculties and courses for upgrading skills, the economic training network, the people's universities, lecture cycles and courses and other organizational types and methods of acquisition of knowledge by all socio-demographic and professional-skill population groups.

This system presumes the existence of two equal subsystems: basic and additional education, identically responsible for the results of training and education.

Basic education means the historically developed educational system from schools to VUZs, which lays the intellectual foundations of the new type of

individual, shapes the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the young generation, gives it the knowledge and skills for successful activities in material or spiritual production and social activities, and creates the stable need for continuing education, offering every person the opportunity to further his mental development through additional training or individual purposeful work.

On the level of continuing education, the most important functions in shaping the individual must be performed by preschool institutions which prepare the children for subsequent education and upbringing.

According to the CPSU Central Committee draft, general secondary and vocational training presumes the following structure: primary school (first-fourth grade); incomplete secondary school (fifth-ninth grade); secondary general education and vocational school (10th-11th grades in the general education schools, secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized schools).

The ratios among the flows of further education of ninth-grade graduates will be based on the needs of the national economy and the wishes, inclinations and capabilities of the students.

Students between the 8th and 11th grades will be given the opportunity to engage in the intensified study of individual selected subjects.

In order to acquire greater skills or a more complex profession, graduates of secondary general education schools will enter one-year departments of secondary vocational-technical schools or secondary specialized schools with 2- or 3-year training and VUZs.

It would be expedient for higher and secondary specialized education to be acquired in the various types of higher educational institutions based on the cyclical system, as follows:

First cycle: Two-year general theoretical training.

Second cycle: One to 3-year vocational specialization.

This type of organization of higher education presumes the following:

Technical schools will be assigned to VUZs (in accordance with their specialization and region) with the status of territorial faculties and branches;

Training in the head VUZ and its branches will be based on unified curricula and programs;

After the first training cycle all students will take three selection tests on the basis of which, in accordance with the average grade of the two preceding years of training, the students will compete for one form or another of the second training cycle;

The selection of students by specialized field and their assignment after the first training cycle will be based on annual state plans;

The assignment of specialists with 3-year secondary specialized training will take place at the beginning of the third year of training; the assignment of students with higher 5-year training will take place immediately after the third year of training;

The narrow specialization of students attending 3- and 5-year training courses will be done by the school together with the enterprise in which the student has been assigned a specific job.

The content of higher school training should be concentrated above all on training broad specialists. The additional education subsystem would give them the necessary knowledge related to specific production activities. This convincingly proves the fact that, as we mentioned, one of the main tasks of basic education is to develop on the basis of general theoretical knowledge the persistent need for the continuing acquisition of knowledge and the comprehensive development of self-education habits.

This need could be stimulated. For example, the labor card could include a section on "education" in which data on education obtained in any form of the continuing education system would be recorded. Managers of labor collectives would be mandated to encourage continuing education, which would be considered, along with the other characteristics, in hiring the person, his certification and recertification, and the moral and material rewards he receives.

The training of higher managerial personnel and cadres for scientific research and higher educational institutions--postgraduate studies--is the final stage in basic education. A major prerequisite for enrollment in postgraduate studies, based on entrance examinations, should be the existence of practical training for no less than 3 years. Along with work on their dissertation, for 3 years the postgraduate students will take specialized courses with two or three tests annually. Postgraduate studies by correspondence and work on a degree should be consistent with this system.

Supplementary education means the existence of a unified and organized system within various schools and forms of organized self-education which, in accordance with the basic education, will offer every person the possibility of obtaining systematized knowledge needed for successful production and social activities and the steady spiritual enrichment of the individual.

Supplementary education should not be confused with adult education. Although they share a number of features, supplementary education should be, in the final account, aimed at everyone--including secondary and higher school students--and be consistent with their needs and their desire to enhance their educational standards. It should help them to obtain knowledge exceeding the limits of approved curricula of respective basic education institutions.

The foundations of science are the main subject of basic education. The latest and most recent accomplishments are the field of supplementary education.

One of the features of supplementary education is the fact that the increased interest toward it displayed by the people contributes, on the one hand, to the intensification of their training and, on the other, gives priority to the special requirements in the formulation of curricula and training facilities in accordance with the dynamics of scientific and technical progress and related social and individual needs.

The objectives of supplementary education could be classified in three groups: enhancing or changing professional skills, ensuring valuable social activeness, including interpersonality relations and general cultural development, and sensible use of leisure time. The broad range of needs presumes high flexibility of such institutions. Unlike basic education, it is difficult here to consider standardized forms of training, for all training varieties must be applied here (simultaneously): personal and by correspondence, full-time and night, courses and lectures, mass information and propaganda media, individual consultations, and so on. Everything is based on the intentions of the trainee.

The strength of supplementary education lies in the variety of its methods. However, this is also a reason for its weakness and lack of coordination of activities, which lowers the efficiency of the training. A future continuing education system should retain the flexibility of supplementary education and give it system and coordination. The people's universities, suitably reorganized and considerably expanded, could become the binding link among the needs of society, the possibilities of the educational system and the requirements of the people. They have the possibility of working with all types of students, recruiting the most skilled teachers and specialists and using the richest possible arsenal of modern educational facilities. Working with virtually no additional manpower and materials resources and their tremendous experience makes it possible for the people's universities, in the course of their development, to become the principal method in supplementary education training.

In terms of the organization of the latter, the following should be emphasized. Basic and supplementary education are links of a single chain, for supplementary education always rests on the knowledge acquired in basic education and, in turn, provides a strong feedback to its objectives, content, forms and methods. These links, however, are of unequal value. Basic education, despite some shortcomings, is a clearly delineated social institution with clear assignments and a developed mechanism for interaction among individual links and between it and other social institutions. As to supplementary education, we cannot speak of a complete system as yet, for despite its tremendous scale it remains a conglomerate of various governmental and social forms of training under the jurisdiction of numerous departments insufficiently interrelated and not always ensuring the full satisfaction of the needs of the working people.

It would be expedient to assign to the State Council for Adult Education the coordination and management of activities of all state and public organizations in the field of education. Such a council could be set up by combining the Interdepartmental Council on Improving the Skills of Leading Personnel



and Specialists in the National Economy (V. P. Yelyutin, chairman) and the Central Council of People's Universities (G. I. Marchuk, chairman). Currently both councils have virtually the same membership--deputy ministers in charge of work with cadres and deputy heads of public organizations. The two councils largely duplicate each other's work.

The tasks of the State Council for Adult Education were actually defined in the CPSU Central Committee 8 October 1968 decree "On Improving the Work of People's Universities" and the 13 October 1977 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improving the System for Upgrading the Skills of Leading Personnel and Specialists in the National Economy."

The practical work could be done by the State Committee for Adult Education, based on the combination of the existing personnel of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Education, the USSR State Committee for Labor and other state and public organizations currently involved in adult education. Such a department, which would work in close coordination with the Knowledge All-Union Society and the mass information media, would ensure the following:

The steady enhancement of the professional and practical skills of the working people;

The training and instruction of cadres in the social professions (people's controllers, assessors, worker correspondents and others) as requested by state and public organizations;

Helping the population to satisfy its steadily growing various educational interests and needs.

The State Council and State Committee for Adult Education would have a territorial-departmental structure consisting of councils for adult education, similar to that of the Central Council of People's Universities, which was created in accordance with the 8 October 1968 CPSU Central Committee decree. The territorial (republic, oblast, city and rayon) councils would be headed by senior party and soviet officials; the sectorial councils would be headed by deputy ministers and deputy heads of other state and public organizations.

Adult education would be provided by permanent or temporary training institutions set up by the State Committee, based on the facilities of schools belonging to other departments or directly in labor collectives, institutes and skill-upgrading faculties. The State Committee would take over the buildings used by the night schools and all other educational institutions. The training within the adult education system would be provided by state teachers of enhanced skills and instructors paid on an hourly basis or by voluntary teachers.

The committee would operate on a cost-accounting basis. Its financing would come from funds contributed by enterprises and establishments which assign their specialists to undergo training and funds contributed by the students themselves.

All the necessary prerequisites for the creation of a continuing education system in our country exist. It would be simple to convert systematically the existing forms of training into a unified system. This requires a unified conceptual base. Considerable scientific work has already been done, three all-union conferences have been held on various aspects of continuing education and the first collections of articles and monographs have already been published. A large number of scientists are engaged directly or indirectly in the study of problems such as the socioeconomic prerequisites for further progress in the educational system under the conditions of our society; the social functions of education; the dynamic development of the production forces of socialism and the objective need for a conversion to continuing education; the optimal structure of such education; the theoretical and practical foundations for optimizing the interaction among the different general education subsystems; and the ratio between state and public methods in continuing education. Researchers have extensively considered the development of the theory and practice of adult education. Numerous problems related to mastering new information by adults, studied in a special area of education--andragogy--play a significant role in the works of psychologists and educators.

At the same time, the relevance of developing and creating a system for continuing education raises the question of establishing within the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences a subunit specializing in extensive scientific research in this area. Such a subunit, which would head the basic research in such problems, could become a center for coordinating the numerous yet still uncoordinated studies of numerous aspects related to the development of the educational system, conducted in various scientific institutions and higher educational establishments. Furthermore, it could direct applied studies and experimentation aimed at determining the most efficient means of integration of the various forms of supplementary education both among them as well as between them and the basic educational establishments. The summation and study of the results of such experiments would enable us to issue practical recommendations on improving the work of a broad spectrum of educational institutions and converting them into a single system for the continuing education of the Soviet people.

Problems related to the essential reorganization of the educational system excite scientists the world over. However, it is precisely socialism with its centralized planning and management of social development and its truly democratic political system that can accomplish purposeful and most complex changes in the realm of public education on a national scale.

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## CONCRETE HISTORICISM VS. ABSTRACT ANTHROPOLOGISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 65-74

[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. Malinin, USSR Philosophical Society vice-president]

[Text] The question of the nature of man is discussed today more intensively than ever before and is kept in sight by the broadest possible strata of the world's public. The example set by socialism with its highly humane attitude toward the human personality and concern for its development and advancement, unlike the cruelty and indifference toward man in a capitalist world, greatly contributed to this situation. The ideological confrontation between humanistic and antihumanistic trends is reflected in science in the guise of two theoretically and conceptually opposite approaches to the nature of man--the Marxist, which is concrete-historical, and the idealistic, which is abstract-anthropological.

Philosophical anthropology has little in common with anthropology as a natural science, which studies man as the *Homo sapiens* biological species. It claims the status of theoretical science of man as a whole--as both a natural and a social being. In its contemporary aspect it is the idealistic alternative of Marxism. However, there has also been a materialistic philosophical anthropology which preceded Marxism. Its appearance is ascribed to Ludwig Feuerbach.

Materialistic philosophical anthropology insisted on the primacy of nature over awareness. It was atheistic and antitheological. However, it remained idealistic in its view on history and considered morality as a fundamental social relation. The deification of man and his love of his neighbor ("Man is God to man") and faith in the exclusive omnipotence of moral advancement led, in the final account, to the fact that philosophical anthropology could not become the ideological instrument in the practical activities of the masses for the reorganization of social relations which were based on the enslavement of man by man. "In form," F. Engels wrote about Feuerbach, "he is realistic and takes man as a starting point; as to the world in which this man lives, however, he makes no mention, for which reason man permanently remains an abstract found in religious philosophy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, p 295). V. I. Lenin considered the anthropological principle "narrow" and ineffective (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 54). Nevertheless, since Feuerbach's anthropology

accomplished a materialistic, although abstract, approach to the consideration of man it played a major role in the development of Marx's and Engels's views and contributed to the revolutionary change they made in philosophy.

Marx noted in his well-known letter of 11 August 1844 ("The Paris Letter") the great importance of Feuerbach's work and acknowledged this philosopher as one of his teachers. The content of the letter proves Marx's enthusiasm at that time for Feuerbach's philosophy. However, already then we note in Marx an approach to a number of essential problems different from that of Feuerbach. Thus, he indicated the connection between atheistic views and the class struggle in society and the fact that in the 1840s nonreligiousness "descended into the ranks of the French proletariat" (op. cit., vol 27, p 381). It was precisely the working class which was called upon to carry out the liberation mission. "... History," Marx wrote, "is preparing out of these 'barbarians' in our civilized society the practical element for the emancipation of mankind" (ibid.). Already here, in this letter, we feel Marx's dissatisfaction with the basic concept of anthropological philosophy: "Mankind," and the aspiration to replace it or, at least to connect it to the concept of society (although this aspiration is presented as an acknowledgment of Feuerbach's merits): "The unification of people, based on real distinction among people, and the concept of mankind transferred from the sky of abstraction to the real earth is nothing but the concept of society!" (ibid.).

Anthropological materialism proceeds from the fact that the core of man is his kind, i.e., that which is shared by, which is inherent in many individuals. Feuerbach would like to study man by considering the individual, comparing individuals and singling out what distinguishes them from each other. In other words, the concept of kind gives priority to determining the identical nature of individuals of the same kind. Differences among them are ignored as nonessential. "In life we deal with individuals," Feuerbach writes. "In science we deal with the kind" (L. Feuerbach, "Izbr. Filos. Proizv" [Selected Philosophical Works]. In two volumes. Volume II. Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1955, p 30). The most important feature here is that no mention is made of social relations among people. This concept is nothing but an "abstract," i.e., a concept within which the common features of the object are concentrated (in this case the human community) while its internal differences are ignored.

Like the animals, man lives in nature. "We," Feuerbach points out, "live in nature, with nature and through nature. Therefore, have we not come from nature?" (ibid., p 435). Both man and the animals are part of nature. However, the animals exist directly in nature whereas man separates himself from nature, pitting it against himself. In Feuerbach's view this is possible, for man is aware of his nature, his kind. "Only a being which studies his kind and its nature could determine the essence and nature of other objects and beings" (ibid., p 30). Awareness of his kind enables man, according to Feuerbach, to feel himself a universal being able to understand his surroundings, including other people. That is why N. G. Chernyshevskiy emphasized that "psychology considers as an exceptionally important fact the inability of the undeveloped man and the ability of the developed man to

understand a life different from his own. ... The discovery of this psychological fact had as a consequence the development of the theory of anthropomorphism, without which not even a single step could be taken in the area of metaphysics" (N. G. Chernyshevskiy, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." in 15 volumes. Volume VII. GIKhL, Moscow, 1950, p 262).

Thus, according to Feuerbach, man makes man realize his own being (kind). However, the real life of the people is still distant from a true human life, for it perceives its kind in an illusory, a distorted manner, not as a being, but as God. Man ascribes to God the entire power of his mind and activities, thus depriving himself of his strength. The mystifying religious blanket should be removed from the essence of man in order to free him. As we see, Feuerbach considered as real human activity only man's awareness of his being, of his kind, i.e., his theoretical activities.

But what lies behind the nature of man in Feuerbach's understanding? What lies behind the common features which can unite individuals (Feuerbach, like most bourgeois philosophers of that period, proceeded from the individual, the "civic society" as a society of private and isolated individuals)? The mind, the will and the heart. "The perfect man has the power of thinking, the power of will and the power of feelings. The power of thinking is the light of knowledge; the power of the will is the energy of the character; the power of the feelings is love" (L. Feuerbach, op. cit., Volume II, pp 31-32). Those were precisely the features in human nature which could make relations among people truly human.

That is what Feuerbach assumed. He did not realize that the more profound and objective forces and the socioeconomic laws determine the alienation of people from one another, as a result of which the people act as isolated individuals. Like other bourgeois philosophers, such as A. Smith and D. Ricardo, Feuerbach conceived of the individual "not as the result of history but as its starting point, for it is precisely the individual who is acknowledged by them as being consistent with nature in accordance with their concept of human nature, acknowledged not as something which appears in the course of history but as something given by nature itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 18). If the objective laws governing the historical process are not clarified, we can only rely on feelings, intelligence and love. Those were precisely the human features from which Feuerbach tried to remove the religious blanket. Nevertheless, they retained in his eyes a nontemporal, a nonhistorical, an abstract nature, for which reason they opposed man as an outside force. In order to surmount their outside nature and even the alienation of the essence of man from real people, Feuerbach was forced to assume that within each individual the desire to possess this essence is given "by nature" and that the history of mankind is, as a result, the development of this natural ability. He ignored the fact that these same "self-satisfying" values of the human being are the product of historical development. According to Feuerbach, Marx writes, the nature of man is considered "only as a 'kind,' as an internal silent universality which links the multiplicity of individuals only through natural ties" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 266).

If we were methodologically to sum up the approach to the understanding of the nature of man through anthropological materialism, as we have seen, it would consist of singling out a general way of abstracting ourselves from differences in the multiple combination of individuals. This essence of man rises above this totality and operates alongside it, linking individuals only through natural ties, through what they have been granted by nature. Nevertheless, Feuerbach's anthropology is not a straight reduction to biologism. It acknowledges the human in man and that which cannot be reduced to purely animal activity. However, he considers the essence of man, human qualities, as something given by nature, not historical and abstract, and considers that the entire problem lies in the need to be properly aware of them. In Engels' definition, as theoretical knowledge anthropology is a form "which eases the transition from human morphology, physiology and race to history." He calls for "a detailed study and development" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 20, p 501).

Marx took a decisive step in the critical reinterpretation of abstract anthropologism in his "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844." Yes, Marx agrees, man is a generic being, for the clan becomes his practical and theoretical target. He considers it from the practical and theoretical viewpoints rather than merely as an object of awareness, as does Feuerbach. Yes, man lives in nature and "the more universal man becomes compared to animals, the more universal becomes the area of the inorganic nature in which he lives" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 92). But what is the reason for such human universality? It lies in his conscious practical activities. "The practical building of the physical world and the reworking of inorganic nature is man's self-assertion as a conscious generic being" (ibid., p 93). In the course of his practical transforming activities man not only separates himself from the inorganic and organic worlds and asserts himself as a "conscious-generic being" but also becomes the type of generic being which is universal, i.e., which can create on the basis of the essence of an object. Yes, create and build, rather than merely understand as interpreted by Feuerbach and Chernyshevskiy. "The animal," Marx writes, "builds only in accordance with the extent and needs of the species to which it belongs, whereas man can produce to any extent and can apply everywhere the proper measure to the object; by virtue of this fact, man builds also according to the laws of beauty" (ibid., p 94). Therefore, in order to understand man and his essence, we must understand his activities and the world within which such activities are carried out, including the world created by man himself, his "second nature."

In the spring of 1845 Marx wrote the now familiar "Theses on Feuerbach" in which he dots, so to say, the last "i" and sums up his study of Feuerbachianism. "The point of view of the old materialism was the 'civic' society; the point of view of the new materialism is the human society or socialized mankind," Marx writes, defining the initial points of the abstract and specific dialectical-materialistic approaches to understanding man (ibid., p 266). Therefore, the study of man and his being should be conducted not by abstracting ourselves from the human community but, conversely, by studying the inner social structure and social relations. Consequently, "the essence of man is not an abstraction inherent in the individual. In reality, it is the combination of all social relations" (ibid., p 265).

This Marxian thesis is frequently cited in philosophical literature and by virtually anyone who discusses the "problem of man." To some authors it has become a kind of philosophical-sociological cliché. Strangely enough, they frequently forget Marx's statement that the essence of man is not simply a "sum total of all social relations" but acts as such "in its reality." By ignoring these words and saying that Marx considers man "the sum total of all social relations," in any case, such authors offer us only a partial presentation of Marx's thought.

Usually the word "reality" is conceived as the opposite of imaginary, unreal, abstract and scholastic. Unquestionably, here as well it has been used in this sense, but not in this sense alone. As we know, "reality" is also a philosophical category which indicates the nature of the object taken together with its manifestations, an essence taken in its integral unity. In this case "essence...in its reality" means the essence of man developed within a specific integral system of social relations, within a specific entity. Furthermore, the concept of reality as a developed essence presumes another concept: an essence, so to say, by itself or an assumption as to what is being developed within an integral system and what defines it. In this case this applies to man's activities. "Social life is essentially practical," Marx writes. "All mysteries which lead theory into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in its understanding" (ibid., p 266).

Therefore, the problem of man is formulated specifically as a problem of the study of his practical activities in their sociohistorical development. This emphasizes the subjective, i.e., the active essence of man. Consequently, Marx's understanding of the essence of man has nothing in common with its structural-functional understanding, according to which man is merely the function of a system of relations. Man creates and changes such relations himself, for he is both the product and the maker of history.

In transforming nature man transforms his social relations and himself as a natural being. His feelings become human only in the course of practical activities. "It is clear that the human eye perceives and derives enjoyment in a way different from the coarse, nonhuman eye; the human ear perceives differently from the coarse, undeveloped ear; and so on" (ibid., p 121). Here again the "second nature" created by man himself, the materialized world of the essential forces of man, is of tremendous importance. "It is only thanks to the physically developed wealth that the human being develops and, frequently, gives birth to the wealth of subjective human senses: a musical ear and eyes which feel the beauty of form, or, briefly put, the type of senses which can give man pleasure and which assert themselves as human essential forces" (ibid., p 122). In Marx's understanding, "humanized nature" clearly proves the fact that the social factor does not conflict with the natural factor and does not exist alongside the latter. It is nothing other than the natural factor, but humanized, having become the object and the result of the activities of man involved within it. In the course of human activities man also perfects his own nature, feelings, intellect, tools of activity and relations.

The mastery (rather than adaptation) of culture in the world created by man and for man, and the active involvement of new generations in the process of

sociopractical activities are the main task in the education, the molding of the human personality. It is understandable, from this viewpoint, "that neither specific human needs nor, even more so, specific human means of satisfying them are encoded in the genes of the individual or inherited through them. The individual masters them in the course of his human development, i.e., through the process of education conceived in the broadest possible meaning of the term. The specific human mentality, with its unique features, appears (but does not 'awaken') only as a function of specific human activities, i.e., activities which create the world of culture, the world of objects created by man for man" (KOMMUNIST, No 2, 1977, p 74).

In the light of this we would like to discuss the current, occasionally used concept of the "biosocial nature of man," which is most frequently interpreted as a synonym of essence, in the sense that man is defined by two factors: the biological and the social. We cannot fail to see the methodological similarity in the initial postulates between the former and the anthropological approach to the understanding of man. Indeed, the 19th-century materialists-anthropologists derived the nature of man by abstracting themselves from the differences among many individuals. Although the concept of the "biosocial nature of man" does not include a multiplicity of individuals, it does include two different factors. They appeared sufficient to give us an abstract--the essence of man. However, even the abstract understanding of man (not to speak of specific-dialectical understanding) cannot be obtained in this case, for the overall dominating approach is one of simple enumeration. "The formal logic to which the schools limit themselves (and should limit themselves with certain changes, when taught in the lower grades), Lenin wrote in discussing this method, "takes formal definitions, guided by what is most ordinary or most striking, without exceeding this limit. If we take two or more different definitions and combine them entirely at random... we obtain an eclectic definition which indicates no more than the various aspects of the object" (op. cit., vol 42, pp 289-290).

Let us also point out that unlike the supporters of the "biosocial nature" of man, both Feuerbach in his philosophical anthropology and the French 18th-century materialists formulated the question more broadly and accurately, considering in the light of available scientific data the more general problem of "man-nature," rather than reducing it to the correlation between the "biological-social" in man.

The eclectic combination of the biological with the social factor is occasionally presented by the supporters of the "biosocial nature" of man as the elimination of the two extremes: man's biologization and "sociologization," which "are equally inadequate as the basis for the study and understanding of man's essence. They are radically faulty from the natural scientific viewpoint; on the philosophical level they confirm the "inflation, the swelling of one of the facets of knowledge," something, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, "which leads to clericalism."

Naturally, both "inflating" and "swelling" are harmful. However, they are possible when there is no integral concept of the object which has developed on the basis of already acquired knowledge and in the process of the study of



the object, which methodologically presumes a clarification of what is essence, phenomenon and many other philosophical categories. In the opposite case the researcher will willy-nilly begin to confuse various concepts and substitute one for another. Indeed, is it not a case of confusion or, rather, a concession to biologizing when human qualities such as humanism, collectivism and even...conscience are proclaimed dependent on biological factors? Or else, in the spirit of philosophical anthropology, when it is claimed that every person "develops as a unique and individual being precisely by virtue of the uniqueness of his natural foundation?"

We already pointed out Marx's criticism of Feuerbach's understanding of the essence of man as an abstract, as a "mute" species which connect individuals with purely natural ties. The supporters of the "biosocial nature of man" consider the social factor as such an abstract and "mute" means and carriers of common features, rigidly controlling the entire variety of possibilities and means of realization of the genetic program. However, such an understanding of the social factor is nothing but abstract sociology the elimination of which is so persistently demanded by the supporters of this view.

Or else let us consider the view that "as a result of the characteristics of the process of man evolving as a biped--the immediate ancestor of the thinking man--led to the appearance of a highly developed brain, of the hand as an organ performing a variety of labor activities, and speech as the principal means of expressing thoughts and sharing information." In order to make the author's statement perfectly clear, he immediately explains that such acquisitions which developed through evolution "created biological prerequisites for labor activities and for the appearance of collective forms of life, i.e., the biological prerequisites for socialization." However, it has long been clearly proved that consciousness is the product of social development and that "the most essential and closest basis for human thinking is precisely the change in the nature of man, rather than of nature as such, and that the human mind developed as man learned how to change nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 20, p 545). In the course of labor man changes both external and his own internal nature, while the "evolution of the brain" itself is a historical product of labor rather than vice versa.

The history of science knows of previous attempts to add the prefix "bio" to the word "social." True, in the past it consisted less of efforts to combine than to substitute the biological for the social. Thus, the successes achieved in the natural sciences at the turn of the 20th century and the new biological data which revolutionized previous views on life created the concept of the possibility of "biologizing the social sciences." Such concepts, as we know, were sharply criticized by Lenin, who firmly objected to mixing biological with social concepts. He pointed out that in the social sciences A. Bogdanov's stringing of biological and energy words was totally unsubstantiated. "Nothing is easier," Lenin wrote, "than to paste the 'energy' or 'biological-sociological' label on phenomena such as crises, revolutions, class struggle, and so on. However, nothing could be more sterile, scholastic and dead than such an occupation" (op. cit., vol 18, p 348).

Unfortunately, the pasting of "biological-sociological labels" on social phenomena still exists. Furthermore, whereas previously this was a

theoretical-cognitive error (which, as we saw, is not excluded today as well), it is now used by the bourgeois ideologues as a deliberate means of social defense: the numerous difficulties and fault of contemporary capitalism are presented as the inevitable consequence of "human nature" (greed, thoughtlessness, sexual attractions, and so on).

Numerous variants of contemporary philosophical anthropology reflect speculative-idealistic concepts of society and man, conflicting in terms of their content. On the one hand, the anthropologists-idealists try to base their theories on natural scientific information; on the other, they present them in the light of views on the spiritual nature of man spiced with religious-theological fantasies. Equally conflicting is their understanding of idealistic anthropology itself: while recommending it as the most general science of man, many of its supporters, starting with M. Scheler, deny the possibility of the scientific study of its nature. Man is such a complex phenomenon, they proclaim, that he can only be described and interpreted rather than studied.

The most influential leaders in this trend offer an example of the conflicting nature of the philosophical-anthropological approach to the study of man.

Thus, J. Maritain, a representative of neo-Thomism, claims that man is a dualistic being, both material and spiritual. The material nature is manifested in the mass individual whereas the spiritual nature appears in the outstanding personality. The mass and the individual are not commensurable. According to Maritain, we must acknowledge this internal dualism and direct the main efforts of science to the study of the spiritual nature of man which links him to God. The aspiration to master the divine essence of man should be the purpose of the upbringing and education of the young, who bear their share of responsibility for improving "the quality of life."

The fate of E. Fromm, another noted supporter of philosophical anthropology (in its Freudian variant) is instructive. He assumed that social psychoanalysis could enrich the ideas of Marxism and vice-versa. On the basis of this assumption, Fromm called upon all sensibly thinking people, all people of good will, to "believe in the unity of the human race and in man's ability to create himself as a result of his actions." But how to "create himself?" Fromm refused to acknowledge the need for practical-revolutionary means of realizing any humanistic program consistent with the creation of the human in man. He failed to see the social alternative to "inner perfection" and, like Tolstoy, called for a "moral rebirth." Calling for a "religion of love," in the final account, he fell into a mystical trap. Disappointed in the possibility of a sociopractical solution to the problem of man, Fromm turned to the most anachronistic forms of religious ideology, considering them as the sources of universal humanity--the old Indian Vedas, Zen Buddhism, and the cabala.

The temptations of idealistic philosophical anthropology not only alarmed bourgeois-liberal personalities such as Fromm or Buber but are a matter of concern to the contemporary "neo-Marxists" as well. Strange chimeras in Marxist clothing are manifested. Thus, K. Kosik, who proclaims himself the

great expert in the "dialectics of the concrete," fell into the most trivial abstraction by claiming that man is a true subject of philosophical anthropology, while historical materialism only "approaches the problem of man." He claimed that the "complex nature" of man can be explained within the framework of the concepts of historical materialism only with the help of "some kind of simple metaphysical formula," hinting at Marx's definition of the social nature of man in his "Theses on Feuerbach." In practice, he called for a "rapprochement among ideologies," opposed specific socialist changes and, in the final account, plunged into the swamp of revisionism.

A. Schaff, another supporter of philosophical anthropology, wrote that the latter is precisely the philosophy of man and as such only "touches upon historical materialism as the theory of social development and the foundation of practical human activities." Schaff, like others who believed in the universal nature of philosophical anthropology, leaves unanswered the legitimate question of why, if historical materialism is indeed the "theory of social development and the foundation of human practical activities" (which is generally true), is not the philosophy of man sought with Diogenes' lantern?

Generally speaking, an influential idea in idealistic anthropology is of society and man as separate phenomena independent of one another. In separating society from man, the idealistic sociologists try to explain the "phenomenon of man" actually without any consideration of the social relations within which man exists. They treat society abstractly, "in general," outside specific historical forms of human activity. This, in particular, is manifested in rejecting the concept of the "socioeconomic system." A consequence of this approach is the belief according to which sociology studies society while philosophical anthropology studies man (Comte, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Buber and others). Such contraposition is groundless. The point is that society is nothing but "man himself in his social relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part II, p 222). This means that the most general laws governing the existence and development of social man (for history knows of no other) are the most general laws governing the existence and development of society and vice-versa. Since the most common laws governing social development are studied by historical materialism, the latter is the true theory of man. Scientific sociology is based on the data of specific social sciences, whereas bourgeois idealistic concepts in philosophical anthropology are based on assumptions and speculative guesses (unless we consider natural scientific data interpreted in the light of such speculations).

The contemporary neo-Marxists claim that the nature of man can be better "perceived" through philosophical anthropology than historical materialism. What nature? Is it the eternal "natural" nature of man within the framework of metaphysical concepts? Actually, in philosophical anthropology, the specific subject of historical action (mass, class, party, outstanding personality), the recognition of which distinguishes the materialistic understanding of history, is replaced by an abstract subject, Man with a capital "M," which does not even act but survives in a foggy natural-social space in an unknown time and with predetermined characteristics. Real man is replaced by an absolutized man who has lost his specific features. At the recent 17th World

Philosophical Congress (Montreal, August 1983), while exposing the "animalizing" trend in contemporary bourgeois culture, noted supporters of philosophical culturology (V. Koshi, R. Klibansky, A. Diemer and F. Dumont) were able to offer nothing better than the old idealistic-anthropological prescriptions for surmounting the "crisis" by "intensifying the spirituality" of individuals.

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism demagogically accuses the theory of historical materialism of promoting the "disappearance" of man. They believe that they raise a "rather terrible" argument by claiming that historical materialism analyzes reality from the viewpoint of "attaining it without man." Existentialists and philosophical anthropologists, personalists and neo-Thomists refer to the concepts of socioeconomic systems, material production, production relations, class, class struggle, base, superstructure, the state, and so on, in which allegedly "man does not exist."

It is true that historical materialism makes no secret of the fact that these and other categories of social knowledge are of tremendous importance in the specific analysis of the social systems and social structures of the past, the present and the future. However, these are hardly "extrahuman" categories. Underlying all categories of the material understanding of history is the concept of human activity, which is not abstract in the least but is specifically historical. Thus, man is the base of all material production and the most important factor in production forces and production relations. However, this applies to man not as an abstract fiction of philosophical anthropology but as a specific and active individual, as a historically specific producer of material and spiritual values, as an individual with specific labor skills and creative capabilities. "The production process produces, therefore, not only an object for the subject but a subject for the object" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 12, p 718). This very recognition of man (the subject) as the decisive link, as the starting point in material and spiritual production, contains the possibility of the scientific understanding of society and the social essence of man and the origins of the humanistic functions of historical materialism.

The materialistic understanding of history is humanistic by virtue of the fact that it determines the true laws of history and the laws of human dynamics in society, within which man realizes his potential for true humanness, i.e., for socialism and communism. The mature socialist society offers man everything possible at a given stage in the progressive development of the socialist social system for the development of his human potential. This is seen and acknowledged by anyone not blinded by anticommunist demagogy.

The humanistic problem has another side as well.

The universal condemnation by the world community of discrimination based on racial, national, sexual, or other characteristics is becoming an increasingly influential factor in contemporary progressive public opinion.

Problems of observing and legalizing in international life in universal norms of morality have become quite topical. In this most important problem of

contemporary international relations as well the philosophical anthropologists find themselves in the position of groundless theoreticians, by proclaiming philosophical anthropology a subject of their "science of man." In reality, it involves problems of ethics, including the ethics of international relations, the observance of norms of international law and respect for the aspiration of the peoples to live in peace. One of the topical tasks of the social sciences, including ethics, is not to criticize the shortcomings and faults of man in general but to criticize the capitalist social system which violates the norms of human morality.

The viewpoint encountered in literature is that, having surmounted philosophical anthropology, Marxism develops as a purely scientific criticism of capitalism. The supporters of this view claimed that Marxism rejects ethical criticism and "axiological" evaluations. Actually, there are no reasons to separate Marxist scientific criticism of bourgeois society from the moral debunking of the latter.

In "Das Kapital," the classic work of scientific communism, Marx extensively uses the arguments of moral criticism of the bourgeois system, which makes the general criticism of capitalism particularly convincing. Under contemporary conditions, the philosophical-ethical criticism of the monopolies and their policy directed against mankind is a sharp and effective weapon wielded by socialist humanism.

The role and significance of the "moral factor" in the assertion of socialist and communist relations are strengthening. Lenin's party pays great attention to strengthening and developing the norms of communist morality as a structural part of the single task of molding the new man. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee noted that "the process of molding the new man is as uninterrupted and complex as life itself. The socioeconomic working and living conditions are changing and ever-new generations are reaching maturity. This raises a number of new problems which the party holds in the center of its attention."

All of this confirms the value of the specific-historical understanding of the problem of man, Marxist humanism and the philosophical-ethical set of problems inherent in scientific communism.

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## COMMAND OF THE TIMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 75-88

[Article by L. Lavlinskiy]

[Text] The fact that socialist civic-mindedness is the main nerve, the ideological core of Soviet poetry, is a universally known truth. Although during the past 10 to 15 years arguments on this subject have repeatedly broken out in the field of literary criticism, no one among the polemicists has the intention of questioning this basic principle. The argument was on how to understand civic-mindedness and what specific verses or poems have this unquestionable merit. This was the basis for the apparent differences.

Obviously, it would be meaningless here to discuss in detail one or another shade of judgment. Suffice it to say that some critics tended to equate civic-mindedness with publicistic poetry. In this case, however, in defining the most significant accomplishments in modern poetry, essentially they raised as the main evaluation criterion the genre, i.e., the formal characteristics. The open publicistic promotion of one's views and the form of public-speaker address to the readers (the expository tonality of some works was merely one of the variants of this genre), regardless of the essence and the depth, was considered a civic quality while the poetic epic and lyricism were mandatorily classified as second-rate literary phenomena. In general, the level of artistry would play no role. This concept seems to promote Nekrasov's famous formula: "You may not be a poet but you must be a citizen." In fact, naturally, this is not the case. When the character of the classical poem turned to his friend the poet he merely reminded him of the primary duty of every person (of a poet in particular). This does not mean that one part of the formula is irreconcilably pitted against another. Without being a poet one could fulfill his civic duty through a variety of non-literary means. In his area the poet has no means other than the creative and artistic ones. Perhaps a high level of spiritual emotionality, aesthetic loftiness and freshness of solutions offered by the author are necessary prerequisites for civic-mindedness in poetry.

If such is the case, should we consider as civic all talented poems in which good and noble feelings are expressed?

In their time, a number of critics have insisted on precisely such a definition. They usually referred to Pushkin, to the line in the famous "Monument:" "I will be pleasant to the people through the good feelings awakened by my

lyre...." Some authors have depicted such "good feelings" in terms of some kind of all-embracing blue-colored goodness, although the author's self-characterization in this poem cannot be separated from subsequent lines which intensify and clarify the poet's thought: "... So that in my cruel century I would glorify freedom and call for kindness to the fallen." Pushkin's order to his colleagues (if we take "Monument" as an order) does not mean in the least a call for total forgiveness. In the view of the great poet to be good means to display civic courage and generosity and actively to participate in the main battles of the time. I am not referring to the poem "The Prophet" with its inspiring slogan "Inflame the hearts of man through the word."

Time tests and retests old truths. Some of them are described as eternal because they present ever-new facets in the course of human history. Naturally, it is sometimes exceptionally difficult to separate in the works of the great poet the civic from the intimate. Sometimes the social nerve is found even in a brilliant prank or, to use a saying which was popular at the beginning of the 19th century, in a "trifle." This does not free us from a clear socioclass concept of civic-mindedness.

The following is a meaningful formula which helps literature to define its attitude toward a vital problem: "Our constitution grants the Soviet citizen extensive rights and freedoms but also emphasizes the priority of social interest, serving which is a high manifestation of civic-mindedness" (from the article by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov "Karl Marx's Theory and Some Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR"). Therefore, civic-mindedness today (not only in literature but in general) is inseparably related to building a communist society, to party sharp-sightedness in understanding vital processes, the active assertion of the optimal norms of social life and the continuing and conscious service to communist ideals. This precisely means giving "priority to social interests," as singled out in the formulation of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The main, the defining quality in our spiritual life, naturally, cannot be considered separately from the variety and many-sightedness of this life.

"... The party," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized in his speech at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "sees to it that man in our country is raised not merely as the carrier of a certain sum of knowledge but, above all, as the citizen of a socialist society and an active builder of communism, with his specific ideological concepts, morality and interests and high labor and behavioral standards." Once again, in a different manner, the same idea of the priority of the social interests is emphasized. Obviously, we can say that socialist civic-mindedness is a magnetic field which determines the power lines of our entire spiritual life. The various components of this life and its various areas are subordinated to the main feature: serving our homeland and our system and, consequently, all toiling mankind. It is unquestionable that this statement about spiritual life fully applies to poetry in general and that the qualities as expressed in poetry must be multiplied by the factor of a worthy talent. Despite the entire clarity of this initial position, the moment such sociophilosophical formulas are translated into the language of art unforeseen complexities and varieties of interpretation appear.

In recent years, for example, it has become almost fashionable among our critics to speak of the lagging in poetry. Suffice it to glance at a number of general articles or materials of literary discussions to find a strange unanimity on this matter: our prose, it is claimed, leads while poetry is lagging. This thought which, however, obviously did not appear without a reason, in turn requires essential clarifications, for otherwise its worth may appear as rather questionable. Who (specifically) is lagging behind what? Both poetry and prose are the work of a huge army of authors with different levels of social and personal experience and different types and depths of talent. The thoughtless juggling with abstract formulas may lead some mediocre writers to look haughtily at their lagging colleagues who keep shuffling rhymes. Or else has the time indeed arrived when decidedly all poets have begun to write less meaningfully and interestingly than other literary workers?

Such doubts are usually backed by references to a decline in readers' enthusiasm, the enthusiasm which surrounded poetry at the beginning of the 1960s, and a shift of the general interest to prose. Therefore, if the mass readership more willingly turns to novels and stories there may be a reason to blame poetry for having lowered its civic and publicistic zeal, for although many experts and amateurs of poetry remain, the broadest possible population strata, i.e., the people, are indifferent to it.

We shall consider whether such is indeed the case. To begin with, however, let us agree on not asking poetry to meet claims which it cannot meet because of its very nature and genre characteristics.

For example, poetry (lyrical in particular) cannot bring to light and describe human practical activities as extensively and in such great detail as prose. Even publicistic poetry with its constant, almost essay-like sallies into the industrial, political or scientific world is unable to do so. Prose has different possibilities of accomplishing this and the demands it must answer are different. However, the possibilities of poetry are hardly any lower in identifying the inner world, asserting spiritual values and depicting the growing drama and the harmony of feelings which resolve it. Poetry alone can extract from life its essence, its most significant and tense moments, giving us an essence of life and avoiding descriptive details. It was precisely this that enabled V. Sokolov to say that poetry is the peak of prose. This was aptly said and did not refer to literature alone, for if poetry avoids or is unable to speak of the essentials in the spiritual life of our contemporaries it fails in the fulfillment of its civic task. Is such the case?

There is something natural in the fact that the works of like-minded poets, even despite quite noticeable stylistic differences, trigger basically similar phenomena which are sometimes a direct response to lyrical motifs. This similarity, this commonness which may be striking yet which escapes rigid definitions, is the imprint of the time, of its main tasks, features and needs. Every single serious poet takes them into consideration to the extent of his social sensitivity and talent. The problem has another aspect as well, which was superlatively captured by R. Gamzatov:



Time, do not feel proud.  
By considering all people as your shade.  
There are many people whose lives  
Are the very source of your light.  
Be thankful that you illuminate us  
With the philosophers, heroes and poets.  
You have shone and are shining today  
Not with your own but with their great light.

(Translated by N. Grebnev)

Such is the dialectics of interaction between man and his time. In identifying it the poet accentuates the artistic thought of the greatness of human accomplishments. Let us acknowledge the demands of the time without accepting its unconditional diktat. Let us grant the people the ability actively to influence the course of historical events. In our days when the world is threatened with nuclear self-destruction, the fruitfulness of such a civic stance is felt particularly sharply. Naturally, however, the lines of this famous Dagestani poet contain a general philosophical meaning as well, for they are also poems about the people, the creators of history.

In promoting peace on earth and the triumph of noble truths, poetry (like all literature) cannot, naturally, forget the tragic lessons of the last war: the bloody adventurism of the Hitlerites cost mankind many millions of lives and unparalleled destruction. That is why any poem about the last war sounds like a warning to the people of the danger of a new and even more terrible slaughter (there are still madmen in world politics!). To the poets of the senior generation, who witnessed and participated in the great battles for the homeland, poems about that fiery time and the memory of their comrades-in-arms, are a lifelong duty to the fallen. Lines from a poem recently written by M. Dudin, worthy of being inscribed on an obelisk, are dedicated to Aleksey Lebedev, a poet and front-line veteran.

Your life  
Was a leap from a trampoline  
Into a depth without end.  
The mother will die not seeing her son  
A prisoner of her sorrow.  
The silhouette of a young woman  
Will be hewn in stone at the mooring.  
The song of loyalty has no beginning.  
Nor does it have an end.

These lines could have been enscribed on the headstone had the seaman had a grave. This poem says a great deal. Its very brevity is the image of a tragically interrupted young life. The structural completeness of this miniature, obeying the law of artistic contrast, clearly emphasizes the thought of the immortality of the exploit. It is as though infinity itself (sadness, memory, heroic principles in life) has been compressed like a spring in the enclosed space of a few lines.... The works of the experienced masters of our poetry are generous and varied, although not deprived of

contradictions. In many of the poems we see no sign of any dampening of the civic temperament in the lyrics or of the sacred reflections of the eternal flame.

The spiritual life of our contemporaries is expressed in the works of the different poets in varying extents of artistic concreteness. I base my example on the most general philosophical thoughts expressed by R. Gamzatov. The poems of M. Dudin show an almost intangible transition from the living to the eternal and from the specific to the symbolic (the double image of a living woman and a silhouette in stone). And here is today's typical face of a young worker, as though photographed. Not so long ago he was a seaman, then a driver and a builder of the BAM, crawling in icy water to hook onto and pull out an excavator bogged down in the river silt. It is a strong image!

To him the ancient call "Up front!"  
And the moan of Yesenin's birches applied.  
"Historian" was his nickname  
As a half-joke, but also serious.  
He took it seriously.  
He has the depth of roots.  
He makes this history  
Instead of drawing from it.

In the few years since the initial publication of Ye. Yevtushenko's poem "Forest Cutting," from which these lines were borrowed, I have been unable to find in our poetry a more comprehensive characterization of a worker. In my view, what makes this poet noteworthy is the polemically sharp compression and combination of various time segments, roots of historical tradition and features of the new. Therefore, this is not an instant photograph. Within the contrast of the author's irony (directed as much against pseudoscience as it is against some lyrical admirers of the patriarchal system), this portrait shows great human warmth. It could hardly be said that Yevtushenko's portrait mastery is weakening with age or that it is noticeably weaker in quality compared to its predecessors. It is true that when the poet abandons his customary publicistic formulas and tries to penetrate into the minds of the people of distant ages his historicism loses in depth. This, however, will be discussed later. Furthermore, this is not in the least a general feature of civic poetry but the price paid for an original style.

It seems to me that today poetry is gaining height in the epic summations and that it is becoming increasingly aware of the historical significance of current events seen through the distance of the memory, to use Ye. Isayev's words, which are also the title of a broadly conceived and well-written poem. In thinking of the new horizons, naturally, I am aware of the contradictory nature of the process. Russian Soviet literature may not have today a poet of such a powerful epic scope as A. Tvardovskiy, an author with such a sharpened historical vision as L. Martynov or, finally, perhaps no poem about today's Komsomol can match such a wise and passionate poem as "Strict Love" by Ya. Smelyakov. However, the epic search is increasing taking hold of contemporary poetry. Within a relatively short time, for example, there we

witnessed the publication of poems by D. Kugul'tinov, K. Kuliyeu, L. Kostenko, I. Drach, B. Oleynik, Yu. Shestalov, M. Chaklays and L. Damian. In the field of Russian poetry we have Vas. Fedorov, D. Samoylov, A. Mezhirov, A. Prelovskiy, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, V. Sokolov, A. Zhigulin, V. Kostrov and Yu. Kuznetsov, and others too numerous to mention. This, however, is not important. For it is a question not of quantity (although these names are well-known and by themselves speak of the serious level of the works). What is striking is the abundance of genre varieties. Poems come today in dramatic (Yu. Martsinkyavichyus), lyrical (L. Damian, M. Chaklays), science fiction (D. Samoylov) and many other previously rare or totally unknown genres (even cradle poems "with a very soporific effect," as Moldavian critic M. Chimpa sadly joked). Naturally, the poem is a very important genre. To its author it is always a test of ideological and artistic maturity and the social scale of his thinking. However, even as a trend these common efforts are fruitful.

It would be useful to recall that during the 1970s not only the so-called "quiet" poetry (to be discussed later) was successful. There also was a creative blossoming of many poets from national republics whose poems were translated, although with a certain delay, into Russian and thus became known throughout the union. The poetic dramas of Yu. Martsinkyavichyus, who painted historical canvases of the distant and recent Lithuanian past, the philosophical poems of D. Kugul'tinov, imbued with powerful antimilitaristic pathos (how topical they are today, when the American administration is leading mankind to the precipice of thermonuclear war), the fiery-temperamental monologues on the problems of the contemporary world, confused by imperialism, as P. Sevak.... The field of Soviet poetry is endless and the different generations participate in it jointly, developing the fruitful traditions of socialist humanism and civic-mindedness. I closely followed the work of the outstanding Belorussian poet Maksim Tank, a veteran of Soviet poetry, and can say that his original philosophical lyricism has lost neither its depth nor militancy with the passing of time. The talent of the Ukrainian master B. Oleynik, who splendidly combines loyalty to folklore tradition with contemporary metaphorical thinking, has greatly matured and grown spiritually over the past decade. We do not have to stretch a point to say that any one of our national poetries has today a bright galaxy of talents too many to be enumerated here. Furthermore, my personal preferences would make any enumeration erroneous.

Socialist civic-mindedness is the main nerve in the poetry of these and many other masters, regardless of whether their works deal with olden times or have been written in the hot traces of current events, for it is the civic position which defines the attitude of the artist toward his material and characters and shapes the historical concept of the author.

Perhaps when people speak of a lagging they may be thinking of the well-known galaxy of Russian lyrical publicists (Ye. Yevtushenko, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, A. Voznesenskiy), whose first steps in poetry were related to pop art and whose works acquired unheard-of popularity in the 1960s. However, the pluses and minuses of the popular poetry of that period and the reasons for the appearance of an already long-disappeared boom have been quite thoroughly studied by our critics and the situation in literature today is entirely

different. The assumption that the social enthusiasm of these poets has allegedly weakened or run out of breath, in my view, is a rather debatable version which should be comprehensively examined. True, the publicistic poets themselves have provided grounds for speaking of a certain obstruction to poetic development. It was their circles which sounded the first concerned mention of a "pause" and "time for repairs." However, it is they themselves, dissatisfied with such statements, who have suggested that this "pause be attacked." What does this prove? All it proves is the existence of eternal complexities which parallel creative progress, changes in social "acoustics" and the responsiveness of the poets themselves, quickly reacting to the currents of the present. In any case, no one could accuse them of reduced creative efforts. A. Voznesenskiy publishes a book almost every year; Yevtushenko publishes one poem after another and, on top of that, a nov-  
elette and a novel and has acted in movies, written screenplays and directed. Naturally, not all of these activities have been of equal value and excessively long and thorough comparisons would be required to single out his greatest accomplishments.

However, bearing in mind the stress of polemic battles which have raged for many years around the so-called "postwar generation," and the fact that some works by these authors have been justifiably criticized, we must obviously describe their work in greater detail, the more so since today this generation has reached a blossoming of its creative forces and its active efforts largely determine the general trend. Indeed, the condition of poetry in general is frequently judged by its successes or failure....

In my view, the path covered by R. Rozhdesenskiy is easier to trace than that of his coevals we named, and his work as a lyrical publicist is quite typical and consistent and worthy of a closer look. He is frequently (and entirely unjustly) cited as the model of some kind of literary immutability: time may be passing but he either is not listening to it or hopes to refract the moods of the public with the old tools. In any case, it is said that the artistic structures he creates show insignificant renovation. As I see it, the situation is different: today the poet writes more profoundly, with greater variety and more interestingly than in the past. It is true that he is, as before, frankly publicistic (even the title of his latest book, "That Time" is quite eloquent); as in the past he reacts warmly and sharply to all noteworthy events in the country and abroad, considering this to be his prime duty. Less frequently than others he changes the shape of his oratorical monologue which, actually, turns into a confidential conversation with the reader easily and naturally.... Finally, as in the past he writes unevenly, with excessive length and a large dose of prosaic expressions. Length, however, is the common scourge of publicistic poetry and only a giant such as Mayakovskiy could invariably raise to poetic heights the "fever of daily events."

Publicistic poetry, which is aimed at a huge audience (listeners more than readers!), must explain and repeat a great deal in order to be accepted better aurally. In terms of the printed text, however, this is considered a shortcoming. Following is the beginning of a poem included in the book "That Time:"

The world ages in old hopes.  
Today however  
Like yesterday  
The masters  
Carry this world on their shoulders  
Professionals.  
Those who are able to reach  
The generosity of the stone,  
The heart of the metal,  
The freshness of the formula,  
The mores of the land.  
Masters.  
Past masters.  
Experts.  
Who understand the full  
Mechanism of a machine tool or a heart,  
The linkage  
Or the noise of turbines....

From the point of view of civic-mindedness (outside poetry) here everything seems in order. One can easily imagine such a opening in an article or an essay. In terms of a poetic address to the reader, however, it is obviously dragged out. The general truth (the thought of the greatness of professional mastery) is concretized by the author in an entirely informative manner, using enumerations, repetitions and different newspaper images. However, the poem comes to life when it includes a topical and specific idea of the harm caused by amateur "approximations." Having sensed the painful spot, like a surgeon, the author begins his surgery through satirical exposure. At this point, we come across fresh and original associations combined under a common hyperbole paradoxical wit:

...It is then hard to respond,  
Reduce all thrusts to naught...  
The world  
Will perish not from gluttony,  
Not from the intrigues of alien planets,  
Not from droughts, not from freezing,  
Not from nuclear superattacks.  
It will perish  
For believing in the good-natured slogan:  
This too will do!....

At this point we do not have to explain the fact that the author's irony has reached its poetic level. The civic attack on philistine indifference is mounted with the necessary strength and accuracy. After it the final hymn to the masters and the assertion that they are "in demand urgently! Quickly! Everywhere! at all times" sounds far more convincing and not a single ! appears excessive.

Poems such as "NLO," "A Poem Came....," "A Sleepless World Is Dreaming....," "Retro," "Ballad of Talent, God and the Devil," or "If Only People Could Live

Forever..." are distinguished by the relevance of thoughts and wealth of intonations (ranging from lofty enthusiasm to biting sarcasm) and restrained, discreet heartache. Some poems (in my view, becoming increasingly frequent) are clearly abandoning the old form of public address and becoming more laconic. Does this lower their civic temperament? In my view, the opposite is true. "Spring," "Incomprehensible Galactic Voices...", "Overheard Conversation" and some others could give the impression of lyrical-philosophical miniatures had they not been written in the traditional publicistic ladder form. They contain the dynamite of true civic-mindedness.

For example, "Overheard Conversation" is amazing not only for the accuracy with which various intonations are presented (a conversation between mother and daughter) but for the way the poet, without saying a single word of his own, has been able accurately to express his personal spiritual intonation. Here we can speak of the tactfulness of the author and the noble understatement of poetry. Naturally, this has nothing in common with a lack of a definite viewpoint. The little devil (the daughter), who attacks her mother with endless questions and assumptions regarding her future profession suddenly, with a child's bluntness, asks a question which is puzzling the best minds of today: "Mama, is it true that there will be a war and I will not be able to grow up?..." This question, which reveals the defenseless of human fate in the face of the hellishness of frenzied militarism, is truly staggering.... In terms of genre "Overhead Conversation" is not publicism but obviously a sketch from life (I do not insist on a definition). Unquestionably, however, it is an expression of the civic pain of the artist who has been able to elevate the depiction to the height of true lyricism with a single accurate line. And, incidentally, almost according to the saying "From the mouth of babes..." to indicate one of the main motifs in contemporary civic poetry: Will there or will there not be a humankind on earth, and will it have a future?

Therefore, the thesis that the civic pathos in contemporary lyrics has declined (among publicists, for example) begins to look rhetorical if considered closely.

However, when the question of lagging arises it most frequently refers to the now-fashionable "gentle" poetry. Let us take a look at the meaning of this quite significant definition....

The term "gentle" is frequently used to describe trite poetry, citing the domination of professionally smooth and colorless pieces of work published in the press. However, the output of artistic artisans (incidentally, many of them are falsely emotional and pseudocivic) is a separate topic. Here we are discussing original poets and works. I once wrote an article on "gentle" poetry, and was quite unwilling to ascribe to this word a rather narrow and disparaging meaning. Nor did I claim to have invented a new scientific term. I simply used this word as a conventional working tool and, incidentally, aimed at a very narrow target: I wanted to prove that in our poetry, in addition to the "loud" publicists other no less great talents were at work, totally unspoiled by noisy popular success. I had clearly in mind (and specifically stipulated) that by itself the "gentle" tonality is no guarantee

whatever of poetic death and that authors who did not enjoy loud popularity were quite different from one another in terms of shades of social position, scale of talent and direction of stylistic surges, not to mention "gentle" mediocrity which showed up in their shallow poetry. My point was that civic-mindedness appears in poetry in a great variety of flexible forms....

Time passed and the fashion of "gentle" poetry vanished, as had the fashion of loud popularity. Some of the poets I mentioned in that old articles became recognized and well-known. Those whose careers ended prematurely (N. Rubtsov) drew to themselves universal attention as well. What was the reason for this quiet, slowly developing yet steadily increasing success? Did they owe it to the "gentleness" of their poetic voice or, to raise the question more sharply, could they become major poets without displaying in their works the main feature: a clear and profoundly thought-out civic stance? Let me immediately point out that although today this is impossible the question should be considered in more specific terms.

For example, V. Sokolov was commonly classified as a chamber poet and credited with most sensitive lyrical nuances. For the same reason other critics stubbornly refused to grant the poet the ability to see the main features of the time, i.e., a civic-mindedness, almost classifying him as an impressionist. Ye. Yevtushenko himself thundered against the "grey Fets" who differed from V. Sokolov's lyrical formula, which had blended two uncombinable names: "Once again Nekrasov and Afanasiy Fet are with me." What is this alleged inspirer and father of "gentle" poetry doing today?

Recently this poet shared his views on his own life in LITERATURNOMYE OBOZRENIYE. He gratefully recalled the period of his creative youth and respectively referred to the works of lyrical publicists ("they turned the stage into a rostrum"). However, he did not ignore the weak aspects of the stage "as a means of contacts between the poet and the reader." He accurately noted that this method demands only "sharp, vivid and effective characters but not mandatorily profound ones. The depth and multidimensional nature of a character are rarely perceived aurally."

The lyrical admissions made by V. Sokolov, which are truly rich in nuances, should be considered with a great deal of faith, closely and thoughtfully. His poetry does not tolerate quick and superficial treatment. His words easily adopt a different meaning depending on the context, gaining additional shades and even turning into their opposites. To V. Sokolov poetry and life are synonymous and he frequently mentions them together. That is why when the author writes a poem on how he failed to create poetry about the heroes of the liberation war in the Balkans, he is not discussing a narrow laboratory topic. Actually, the lyrical character is standing in a snow-covered park in front of a monument erected in honor of the exploit of Bulgarian patriotic physicians and is tortured by his inability to find the proper words. Let us consider, however, the unexpected turn which the author's confession takes:

I took off  
Leaving behind my poetry  
Silently to roam.  
These trifles are torturing my soul.  
They are not trifles!  
In vain...

I hope that someone will find them  
And give them shape.  
They will warm up and speak  
Line after line.

And, long after me,  
They will shyly speak.  
Not even in Russian,  
For that is not the problem....

It is thus that a seeming laboratory poem about poetry (unwritten, uncreated) unexpectedly broadens its horizon, becoming a work about the powerful spiritual wealth of nations speaking different languages, about the same attitude toward a patriotic exploit, about the author's self-denial for the sake of this international fraternity, and the readiness to entrust to a fellow worker the lofty and intimate right which a real poet will never want to voluntarily grant anyone else: the right to address the readers in the language of poetry.

The firm tradition of socialist internationalism strengthens and develops in contemporary poetry. Its foundations were laid by V. Mayakovskiy himself, who created a number of expressive formulas describing the "feeling of a united family." Every significant poet deems it his duty, to the best of his ability, to respond to one of the leading topics of our reality. V. Sokolov's poetry fits perfectly within this general artistic context of externally flat but ringing notes. The author has inherited the steadiness of intensive thoughts on the civic purpose of poetry from the famous tribune of the 1920s. With obvious irony he describes his coevals and colleagues whose "fatherly-sad" stories about younger people and alleged difficulties he considers a premature aging of the soul. By clearly separating himself from such "oldsters," the author sharply turns the lyrical plot around:

But I like to be friendly with old people  
Who do not boast of the fact  
That they dug the earth and hewed stone  
Although they could not write poetry.

They have done everything...  
And, listening to the stories  
Paying attention to them, smiling  
I feel almost immediately  
As young as they feel.

To them this life is not  
Someone else's rich medal.  
They have created a poem  
Which will always be with me.



What is the theme of this point? Is it about what true youth is? Is it about the unbreakable unity of generations within our society? Is it about "the place of the poet in worker ranks," as Mayakovskiy would have said, or about the nature of true poetry? Naturally, this is about all of them. This is a "multidimensional image." Life without any falsehood, filled with the heroic toil of the people is, precisely, poetry. The poet finds an inexhaustible source of energy in the unity between him and this life, in the precise awareness of his place in this life and of his duty.

The fact that the critics definitively defended and realized the high civic significance of the best love poems is an accomplishment of debates on poetry of the 1970s.

Even Mayakovskiy, in the circumstances governed by the literary battles of his time, polemically described this topic as "both personal and petty," scornfully referring to "love chatter." However, while fighting against petty poetry, the poet perfectly realized that feelings may be different and that love poetry may most profoundly reveal the spiritual potential of the individual, his civic nature in particular. Not for nothing did he write such inspired poetry "about that." The lesson of the revolutionary tribune was not wasted in modern poetry. The moral height of our spiritual life can be judged by the best modern love poetry. Today reality does not confront the poet with the rigid internal barriers separating various topics but harmoniously combines within the human soul the individual and the social. That is precisely why Sokolov was able to write his "Novoarbat Ballad" in which the pain caused by the destruction of the old "memorial" district is artistically contrasted with the bitter feeling of lost love. The lyrical character is ready to withstand these and other trials for the sake of a life eternally renovating itself. The author concludes his ballad with the romantic paradox: "Good-bye, you with the flying hair/All that passes goes into the future." But are those words directed exclusively at a woman? They reveal the conviction that spiritual values do not disappear without a trace. These are lines about the magic power of the human mind which resurrects the past and can blend different times, the fleeting with the eternal....

We find the inseparability of the individual and the social in the poetry of another "gentle" poet--A. Zhigulin:

Martha, Martha! A name of spring!  
Golden earrings of birch trees.  
The hills have turned blue.  
The last frost dries the earth.

In the distance the timber saw rumbles.  
The firs and the pines are moaning....  
It is the middle of the 20th century.  
It is the middle of Siberia.  
Spring.

Steel tracks take us along  
The dry birch sleepers.  
Blue smoke melts the snow  
Your quiet eyes are shining.

Gone is the uneasy time  
Of our brief encounters in the forest.  
These eyes and these instants  
I shall take with me into the cold barracks....

Had the poem ended with these lines, it might have sounded like a beautiful hymn to love and youth through which shines the entire lifestyle of the poetic character: details of his hard physical toil and the features of spring which are part of his soul. However, the poet is not satisfied with these personal recollections. He openly crosses from these long-gone years to the present and intensifies some initially not quite apparent intonations:

Gone, flown away, vanished  
Are days of hope and lost years.  
There was great sadness and sorrow.  
There were few happy roads.

I do not regret them.  
Everything went according to the rules--  
As laid down by the Russian poets--  
Love, dreams and troubles.

The concluding poetic blast lifts the poem into civic orbit. When we speak of an exploit we frequently look for its solemn, ceremonious loud features. However, the path to any victory goes through surmounted obstacles, sometimes painfully difficult and seemingly entirely insurmountable. Yet these obstacles are usually rough and not poetic in the least. To the true poet, however, even a difficulty is something which helps to display the purposefulness of a character and courage. The fatal misfortunes which befell A. Zhigulin in his youth may have been perfectly well avoided in his real life, for in the final account they were a tragic happenstance. However, in any case a mandatory prerequisite for the realization of the poetic destiny (let beginning poets memorize Zhigulin's lines!) was to overcome the trials of life. It is this plus spiritual firmness (the dialectics of randomness and necessity!) in the poet's biography which is typical of his generation. It is thus that a poem about a memory of love becomes a poem of his time, of faith in life and in the invincibility of its good principles.

A. Zhigulin has written relatively few works dealing exclusively with love. They are not the strongest part of his poetry. On the surface, his poems may seem somewhat monotonous because of their steady, melodic sadness and sorrow. However, this initial impression is almost always superficial. Is Russian nature monotonous, is the centuries-old sadness of its fields, ravines and copses and its foggy, endless horizons monotonous? Different answers may be given to this question but the eyes of the Russian poet have always known how to find in the native landscape an inexhaustible wealth of color and rhythm.

Zhigulin's poetry follows in the wake of this classical tradition, although his perception of life and civic stance are inseparable from the storms, upheavals and shifts of our age. The features of the new and the spiritual and aesthetic life of our contemporaries naturally include this deeply rooted tradition in the way the vast expanses of the entire Soviet Union are enclosed within the concept of homeland to this Voronezh (by birth) poet.

A. Zhigulin's civic stance is manifested most clearly in the tense and fine lyricism of his landscapes, in his painstaking analytical thoughts on the historical paths of the homeland. He, the man of the socialist age, is linked to his famous or anonymous predecessors with the fine but strong ties of continuity. At this point we must say that Russian antiquity and the images of the distant path to the homeland have always and steadily appeared in the works of the lyrical publicists. However, these characters are frequently modernized both in terms of appearance (on the face of Peter the Great "his eyes moved like a skidding motorcycle"--Voznesenskiy) and in their essence (as in the relatively recent poem by Ye. Yevtushenko "Nepriyatva," whose character, the Voyevod Bobrok, turns to Dimitriy Donskiy on the eve of the decisive Kulikovo battle with a sermon which sounds like a modern humanistic viewpoint). We find no such deliberate or unwitting mixtures of historical meetings in Zhigulin (naturally, this should not lead to the conclusion that publicistic poetry in general must turn to history. In his poem on Red Square, R. Rozhdestvenskiy has philosophically deepened the poetic image, giving it a soft, carefully planned historical background. A growing interest in the heroic past is generally typical of the multinational lyrics of the last decade. Thoughtful historicism marks the artistic surges of the Georgian Sh. Nishnianidze, the Azerbaijani M. Ismail, the Uzbek A. Aripov and the Russian poet S. Vikulov. Echoes of ancient legends appear also in the politically topical works of Yu. Drunina).

In turn, A. Zhigulin (it is true, quite rarely) also enters the areas long and extensively covered by lyrical publicism by exposing the lack of spirituality of the petit bourgeois who hide the entire beauty of the world behind "carpets, television sets and dachas." Here again he remains on the proper artistic level but his inspiration nevertheless loses compared to the hail of withering exposures by Yevtushenko or Voznesenskiy.

Such motifs, traditional in Russian poetry, did not appear until recently and only in the works of these poets. In mentioning Zhigulin's poetry, I merely wish to emphasize that this antiphilistine line in contemporary civic poetry is not weakening in the least but, conversely, is attracting a great variety of talents.

The social stance of the contemporary poet is nurtured by the organic closeness and, in some cases, one could say a spiritual merger with national folk sources and the age-old traditions of Russian oral art. Following are lines from a familiar poem which could be fully taken for a folklore chastushka:

Everyone said that you are good  
That I myself am not so bad....  
A little river flows

Bordered by weeds and alder trees.  
In the very middle  
Of the clear water...  
You and I in a rowboat  
Are sailing somewhere...

We find here the teasing and profound tenderness typical of Russian love chastushki, simple slyness and a note of seriousness at the end, as though hinting at something important and unsaid. A landscape, a virgin corner in the middle or northern Russia is also painted here in passing, in a rough outline. Naturally, these unprepossessing (but refined) lines do not express something we would describe as a civic stance. To Nikolay Starshinov, their author, they are the living subsoil which nurtures such poetry.

N. Stavshinov is a great expert in folk songs. The tens of thousands of chastushki he collected in various cities he has classified geographically and by topic. It is clear that such knowledge gives Starshinov's poetry a special coloring. The lines we cited (or others similar to them) could be also written by the other poets we named but only as stylized and for a specific artistic purpose. To Starshinov such poems are a means of natural self-expression (with all merits and shortcomings of this method).

An innate feature of domestic poetry is its spiritual closeness to nature, deliberately put by the poet on the service of his civic assertion of life. Whereas A. Zhigulin instills his landscape descriptions with his precise knowledge (he is a graduate of the Voronezh Forestry Engineering Institute), N. Starshinov relies on accuracy: He enriches his own artistic memory with folklore. He is confident that the folk names of Russian grasses alone (kukushkin len, zayach'ya kapusta, myshiny goroshek, ivan-chay) are poetically mysterious. It is as though tales, legends and popular beliefs are hovering over them. The poet Starshinov uses this folklore and recirculates its valuable features in literature.

In order to feel the civic need and relevance of such creative efforts we must remember how important is the close attention paid to any living blade of grass (and even to its name) in our century. For today this means defending life in general with its valuable and irreplaceable sources. We must clearly see the unexpectedly new aspect which the age-old tendency of domestic poetry acquires in "painting the valleys, skies and seas and praising kindness." This means asserting the beauty of moral health and the lofty and concerned attitude toward spiritual values and the entire world around us. We must care for this health, the more so since today it does not oppose the poetry of social tempests and passions, revolutionary-political poetry (as was the case in the 19th century, when the thundering comradely rebuke of Nekrasov's citizen addressed to the then-"gentle" poetry was heard). The veteran of the Great Patriotic War realizes that the role of the life-preserving enthusiasm irrepressibly grows and that the devilish imperialist machine which rules half of mankind drills into the people's heads something which is the exact opposite, i.e., a predatory and cynical consumerism.

It is true that this does not mean that the time has come (or will ever come) to assign a serious place to trite poetry. It is a question of the fact that

civic poetry extends today to all fields of life and all topics and occupies even territories which were once considered areas of "pure" art. Such poetry gives them its own shape, forcing us to feel the "priority of social interests" and turns the territory of "pure" art into a bridgehead in the struggle for peace and justice on earth...

"We have achieved a great deal in implementing a task which no one other than the communists has ever set himself," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, in his report at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Molding an ideologically convinced, harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual, who is building life according to the laws of social justice and intelligence, goodness and beauty. However, we have no grounds for complacency."

Nor should there be any complacency among us, the creative workers, when we assess our work, including our poetry. The constant complaints of the critics about its lagging have at least one serious reason: the last generation to produce big names is still the postwar generation (authors in their 50s). The poetic youth, numerous articles point out, is spiritually maturing today more slowly than in the past, although it may be that the general standards of its poetry and the aesthetic literacy of today's youth are higher than in the past. Obviously, this has to do with some general processes, with some negative phenomena which were also pointed out at the plenum: "We are concerned with the delayed civic molding and political naivete and the dependency of some young people, their unwillingness to work where society demands today."

Obviously, something similar to the dependency, to the naive aspiration to avoid sharp angles and to take the easy road to art is developing in some of the poetic youth. Therefore, we cannot overestimate the importance of intelligent, tactful and purposeful ideological and educational work which the USSR Union of Writers must and does carry out with the young creative workers, including many among those named in this article. All that is needed is a clear idea of the complex specifics of such work and the fact that creative work is, to use a current expression, "piecework." It is perhaps here that the danger and harm of any "excessive organization and ostentation" becomes more obvious than anywhere else. At the same time, steady comradely contacts with the masters may contribute to the civic development of a beginning author far more than any other step even though properly planned.

At this point I must go back to the work of N. Starshinov and describe the way the poet's civic stance is embodied in the practical guidance of the youth. I must do this because the scale of this activity greatly exceeds the usual participation of elder comrades in guiding beginning authors. For many years N. Starshinov has headed the young guard almanac "Poeziya" [Poetry] and has been the heart of a large and varied creative aktiv. He also teaches a special seminar at the literary institute. All of this means that he must go through literally mountains of manuscripts, looking for the valuable sparks of talent. Furthermore, the poet travels extensively throughout the country. One day he sends to the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV selected poems by an unknown rural teacher, and now V. Pakhomov is someone

known to the readers. With N. Stashinov's help he published the book of poetry "Lesnyye Yabloki" [Wild Apples]. Tomorrow he might be in Tula, attending a literary evening with secondary school students and might bring from there a cycle of poems by their teacher. Or else he will send to the publisher a collection of works by young engineers working in Arzamas.... However, many Muscovite poets as well consider N. Starshinov something of a spiritual guide, people such N. Dmitriyev, laureate of the Lenin Komsomol prize, O. Yermolayev and A. Bobrov. I have repeatedly witnessed the way N. Starshinov has guided his "crew" at literary evenings. Once, on his invitation, I took part in a collective trip (a Saturday and Sunday) to the site of the historical Kulikovo battle. His work is unpredictably varied and truly dedicated....

It is also true that beginning authors should firmly remember that no one's pedagogical efforts or personally acquired "amount of knowledge" (even a "divine spark") alone make a poet if this poet has no character and if he does not develop by himself an active civic stance. The flame of words can sear others only if the poet himself is burning. This, however, may be quite painful.

But, even among the young, it seems to me, promising names stand out (some of them we even mentioned here)...

There are times in literature of aesthetic explosions, of storming and pressure. There also are periods which may seem calm on the surface but are noted by concentrated and stressed civic and moral-aesthetic searches. In my view, poetry today is going through precisely such a period.

Naturally, it would be impossible in a single article to paint a complete image of our poetic movement and discuss all noteworthy phenomena. This would require a number of articles, studies and books. Judging by who among the poets enjoys today the greatest attention of the leading critics and whose books are more willingly sought by the serious and demanding reader, it becomes obvious that the time of noisy, formal experiments is long past. However, this is not a question of a "pause" but of the spiritual maturing of the poetry reader, the greater substance and maturity of the professional word of the critic. I believe that today's poetry has become more aware of its deep ties to domestic tradition; it is drawing more sensibly from the age-old treasury of oral folklore and is showing a more attentive and responsible attitude toward the great behests of the classics, compared to 20 years ago, shall we say. This enriches and deepens its understanding of the most important, the most burning problems of our time. It feels more sharply than ever before the interconnection among phenomena, the indivisible unity of the homeland and the urgent daily concerns and eternal questions of life. For there is no part on earth today untouched by the global pains of our time. There is no peaceful corner on earth in which the struggle between the two opposite systems is not reflected. It is no secret to our poetry on whose side is the future. Poetry itself is becoming increasingly and more directly involved in this struggle for the preservation of life on earth and for all nations to be free and equal.

The image of a planet torn to bits by nuclear explosions is an image opposed by A. Tvardovskiy to the very last days of his life, stubbornly fighting it in his poems ("In the case of the main utopia...") an image which arises with increasing frequency as a result of the sinister activities of the imperialist camp. That is precisely why it is frequently encountered in today's civic poetry. It arises as a topic which exposes militarists and as a satirical weapon wielded by the poet:

Inscription on a meteorite:  
"...And I assure you, senators:  
A somewhat stronger earth  
Could belong to us, all of it."  
No name and date given.

These lines taken from the poem by G. Shergova, "Mortal Sin," are imbued with bitter sarcasm and merciless abuse of the stubbornness of the overseas "hawks" who are unwilling to listen to common sense and terminate a fatal arms race. Actually, is there a need to put the name and date of the addressees of this satire? Naturally, a brief quote is no more than a small fragment of an artistic entity. However, I would take the risk, with such a quotation, to construct the spiritual features of the lyrical hero (heroine). The main fact, however, is entirely obvious: such a sharp mockery of the insanity of world domination demands firm faith in the invincibility of goodness. It demands a civic faith shaped in the free spirit of a socialist country. Otherwise, the tonality of this exposure would be obviously different. In direct contrast to the nuclear fanatic who is killed in this poem, the Soviet person would like to see the earth living and prospering. This is a merger of two once-opposite currents in domestic poetry: the one which praises the "beauty of valleys, skies and seas" and the one which tirelessly brands the enemies of toiling mankind.

Discussions on the lagging of poetry are to a certain extent useful. Poetry itself is honorably fulfilling its civic duty, for the characteristic features and traits which become apparent in one or another lyrical character are the features and traits of our contemporary, our approximation of the ideal of the harmonious individual and his embodiment in reality. Creatively supplementing one another, the poets of different national traditions, who also differ in terms of the size of their talent, are actively participating in the implementation of one of the main tasks of literature: creating the image of the positive hero of our time.

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## HOW IS THE INITIATIVE BACKED?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) pp 89-100

[Article by D. Mamleyev, first deputy editor in chief of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA; notes on the movement "Let Us Make Siberia an Area of High Culture"]

[Text] Lomonosov's words that Siberia will contribute to the growth of Russian power are no longer merely prophetic. They have been confirmed by life, the interests of the state and the scope of transformations which has amazed the entire planet. The name Urengoy, trumpeted by the world's press, which marks the beginning of the Siberian gas pipeline going to the west, is as familiar to the reading population on earth as the word "Sputnik," which was born of the flight into space of Soviet science at the start of the 1960s. All parts of the Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power plant, one of the largest in the world, are already working for communism; south of it, the Yenisey has begun to power the even larger Sayano-Shushen GES. Today no one asks, as was the case a few years ago, the meaning of KATEK: the ancient Siberian village Sharypovo, which was recently made into a city, has become lost among the new high residential districts, hastily laid roads and huge dumps, while excavator and heavy-duty dump truck drivers have begun to storm the huge, shallow coal deposits. Hundreds of bridges have been built and thousands of kilometers of railroad tracks have been laid on uninhabited land to carry the Baykal-Amur Mainline--the road of the century--and not only to open a second passage to the ocean but to lead man to the richest natural deposits. Tunnels are still being pierced in the rocks, daring engineering solutions are found for areas with greater seismic activity and permafrost; settlements and cities are growing and developing among the Main Line and statistical figures already indicate that during the construction period thousands of children have been born, who will proudly say one day "I was born on the BAM."

The creation of one of the biggest academic centers near Novosibirsk brought to life powerful concentrations of scientific forces in other parts of Siberia and the Far East. Innumerable cities appeared in the once-desert areas, together with industrial giants which mark the upsurge of the Soviet economy in the age of the scientific and technical revolution. Territorial-production complexes--a new and very promising phenomenon--are appearing, which face scientists and practical workers with many complex problems.

We have approached a point at which Siberia and the Far East are announcing their existence more loudly and clearly and are assuming an increasingly



important place in our immediate and longer-range plans. The words of Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskiy are quite significant today. "Sometimes," he said at a meeting of the USSR Gosplan presidium in 1930, "local reporters, who present local problems and defend local needs, tend to boast. However, if Siberia mentions its wealth, we do not have to fear such a deviation, for the question of Siberian mineral deposits and their utilization is not even a matter for the USSR alone but a matter for the world. Here no elements of philistine boasting exist. We must take into consideration the prospects for Siberia's development as a position in the world's struggle, and any opposition which may be facing us, citing reasons of current profitability and the current situation, reveals a clear lack of understanding of the play of forces in which we are involved."

I shall not cite here figures related to the development of Siberia, for they are consistent with the expression "planet Siberia" as we know. Petroleum, natural gas, coal, hydraulic power, metals, grain, the Mendeleyev table of elements, virtually all of which are stored in its harsh subsoil, are a question "of the utilization of such wealth" which becomes increasingly obvious today and which demands contemporary solutions consistent with the vital needs of the national economic complex and long-term objectives and which would be at the service of the future of the homeland.

The development of new areas, particularly the inaccessible or even virtually uninhabited ones, and the harshness and even extreme natural conditions require huge capital investments, special "Siberian variant" equipment and new management and planning methods. Naturally, however, the fate of that planet is above all in the hands of the people, the native Siberians and those who have come here with the intention to work for a great cause and firmly link their future and that of their children to these areas. The new production collectives are asserting the high standards and contemporary rhythm of their labor. Although today the turnover of workers and specialists in Siberian and Far Eastern industrial sites is still considerable, what this means above all is that it is more difficult here to obtain housing and place a child in kindergarten and that there are fewer cultural centers. It is becoming increasingly obvious that without the necessary (systematic) concern for the people and without the creation of favorable living and working conditions the production problems will not be resolved. That is why the current five-year plan stipulates for such areas a higher pace of construction of housing and of the entire sociocultural complex, and improved population supplies with goods in mass demand. To resolve national economic problems in the area in close connection with the problems of its social and cultural development is precisely the type of presentation of the matter which reflects a clear understanding of Krzhizhanovskiy's words I mentioned, "the forces at play in which we are involved."

In this connection we consider natural the broad social response to the appeal of the people of Krasnoyarsk "Let Us Make Siberia An Area of High Culture!" which was made public soon after the 26th Party Congress by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA. This appeal, which crowned the counter-obligations assumed by the people of Krasnoyarsk related to the development of the sociocultural complex during the 11th Five-Year Plan, marked the

beginning of a broad patriotic movement which included the aspirations of Siberia, the center and all union republics for close long-term cooperation and multilateral worker contacts covering the entire range of problems. The people of Krasnoyarsk, let us say, were prepared for this through their own hard experience, for which reason their initiative required not an instantaneous support in words (which is frequently the case in our country) but an awareness of the need for scrupulous and specific work and for a new systematic approach to the social and spiritual areas and a search for effective means of long-term cooperation.

I recall a business meeting in Krasnoyarsk. A representative delegation from the Kuzbass had come to the city on the Yenisey to study the experience of its neighbors, to describe its own accomplishments and jointly to consider development prospects. The people of the Kuzbass are thorough and they approach with the same thoroughness sociocultural problems. Let me note incidentally that in a number of items they are a serious challenge to their neighbors. But then the Kemerovo people toured the city, visited its enterprises and rural rayons, discussed problems of interest to them with party, economic and cultural workers and, as a result, realized that the approach itself to the project, the overall intention to act rather than speak and the scope of the Krasnoyarsk initiative, gave it the right to speak on behalf of Siberians in the implementation of a major project. Concern for accelerating the development of production forces in the region is supported by awareness of the need to develop culture, thus ensuring unity of action which is of such great importance in Siberia and, in the final account, to the entire country. This double aspiration makes the area more attractive to the people and helps to keep them in the Yenisey area.

For example, it would be easy to write "a theater for opera and ballet to be opened in Krasnoyarsk." But try to imagine the difficulty and, I dare say, the courage it takes to do it. It is no easy matter to construct a building on a new square slanting toward the Yenisey, line it with marble and furnish it. Nevertheless, this is only half the work and not the main half at that (incidentally, the entire city worked with enviable willingness at the construction project and subscription to collective attendances began long before the first season). It was also necessary to put together and develop a creative collective, create a repertory, open theater workshops and a choreographic school, see to the resettlement of the new arrivals and surmount a number of unexpected major and minor obstacles. Furthermore, while the tempestuously expanding city was still "hungry" for housing, apartments had to be found for the singers, ballet dancers, painters, musicians and teachers. This called for citywide understanding. And the city understood, as confirmed not only by everyone's participation in the construction but the special spirit and excitement in the hall, which is felt to this day (several years later) at each performance and the pride with which the local population speaks of its theater. Yes, this is a theater for all the people of Krasnoyarsk.

The recently created symphony orchestra, which plays not only in the concert halls but at plants and in the splendid hall of the new university building, has earned the devotion of its audience. One more VUZ also appeared in

Krasnoyarsk: the Arts Institute. The painters and sculptors were given workshops by the city (built on the basis of special blueprints) and new exhibition halls. Plans for the future call for organizing a Siberian Academy of Fine Arts on Surikov's land.

A branch of the Vladimir Il'ich Lenin Central Museum is being established in Strelka. The silhouette of the movie and concert hall has taken shape and not far from it are the new buildings of the Arts Institute, with its workshops, studios and training theater. The Krasnoyarsk architects are working creatively and are trying to give the Yenisey capital an original skyline.

The young people of Krasnoyarsk love the dancing-concert hall where original programs are presented, the Labor Palace built by the metallurgical plant workers and the general-purpose Yenisey Sports-Pageant Complex which is on the other side of the beautiful sports stadium. "Sobolenok Kesha"--the symbol of the Spartakiade of the Peoples of the USSR, which was held in Krasnoyarsk, invited athletes and citizens to look over the full set of modern facilities for winter sports, which include a one-of-a-kind ski jump and a breath-stopping sled run (its dizzying turns made of Siberian larch, which is as hard as steel, are the most difficult in the world). It is said that only a few masters can slide down this track. However, looking at the daring runs of youngsters (in the summer they use carts rolling on rubber wheels) makes one unwittingly think of how many world record-setters could grow up here on the banks of the Yenisey. And this is only the beginning...

All of this may involve a certain element of prestige, revealing a feature in the Siberians who have become accustomed to doing things on a grand scale. The main thing is the realization that what is important to the young people, who largely set the pace of Siberia's progress, is not only the work and not only opportunity (incidentally, extensive opportunities exist for the development of young cadres in Siberia), but the habitat, the content of spiritual life. The young want to live and spend their leisure time on a level consistent with modern standards. They want to experience beauty personally, rather than through the television screen. We know that the educational standards of Siberian young people are high and that they are socially active. Their demand, which reflects the development of a general trend, urges the people of Krasnoyarsk to develop and carry out, along with scientific comprehensive programs which cover a number of economic areas, equally substantiated comprehensive programs related to the development of culture, the arts, health care, sports, consumer services and trade.

Another important feature is that the people of Krasnoyarsk have the ability to notice and support a good initiative and are comprehensively trying to create conditions in the area for the social creativity of the masses and for the search for inner reserves. Let me cite a few of the many examples in this respect.

Unusual youth halls appeared at the shock construction projects: during their leisure time the youngsters built vast premises made of large panels and heated them. Artists painted the walls. Now they have a place where they

can dance, listen to an amateur concert, or welcome a visiting group. Naturally, the turn of palaces of culture and movie theaters will come. Meanwhile, the young people will not have to loiter about with nowhere to spend their evenings.

A good example is the creative cooperation between Sayano-Shushen and Leningrad people: It began with hydraulic power, followed by creative contacts with composers and music festivals. It has now become the rule that famous performers travel from the banks of the Neva to those of the Yenisey. The experience acquired in fruitful sponsorship relations, no longer merely with Leningrad but with Muscovites as well, was extended to many shock construction projects.

The people of Krasnoyarsk are responsive to a good experience but, naturally, they adopt it in accordance with local conditions. Even things which are native mandatorily take into consideration rayon specifics (the kray is huge!). For example, the idea of creative accountability originated at the Sorsk Molybdenum Combine. Previously the results of the competition and the winners were determined without publicity. Officially everything was accurate. However, the results were not felt by the working person. Today the results of the competition are announced at a general traditional and happy ceremony at which the comprehensive activities of the collective are presented. A points system was "invented," which takes into consideration production results, the implementation of individual creative plans, rationalization and mass political work and successes in sports and amateur performances. Creative accountability reports are submitted at the Palace of Culture. The heads of the collectives describe the accomplishments; agitation brigades and amateur choirs present a special program; the foyer has exhibits of the works of painters, collectors and skilled craftsmen. This good experience has spread throughout the kray. The individual enterprises or rayons have applied it in their own way. This has turned the creative accountability report into an indicator of mass social creativity.

The teachers in Kanskiy Rayon had a good idea: to teach three lessons on "our native Siberian kray." Prestigious people were invited for the first class, to describe the past, the present and the future of the kray and the rayon and to answer the questions of the students, thus themselves becoming better acquainted with the schools and their needs. For the second lesson the students were asked to write a composition on their native place and on the people with whom they live and work and to think of what could be done to change things for the better as of now. The third lesson was held outside, on improving the streets and helping the kindergarten, the hospital and the families of war veterans.

This idea was creatively applied not only in the kray but in other parts of Siberia as well. The Kemerovo party obkom, for example, passed a special resolution on this subject and on the first day of September members of the party obkom bureau, first secretaries of raykoms and gorkoms, executive committee chairmen, labor frontrankers, war veterans and men of culture and the arts taught a class in town and settlement schools. A senior party worker frankly admitted to me that in the classroom, as he stepped toward the oblast

map, he was no less excited than before delivering a speech to the oblast aktiv. Thus the first lesson became a kind of single policy day in the schools. It contributed greatly to both the young people and the party workers. It was no accident that the Kuzbass decided to spread the experience of such meetings among VUZes, technical schools and vocational-technical schools.

In speaking of the Krasnoyarsk initiative, let us particularly note that it is the party workers, starting with Pavel Stefanovich Fedirko, the first secretary of the CPSU kraykom, who set the tone in the cultural development of the kray. It is an old truth that if the head (of a plant, a kolkhoz, a scientific institute) is truly interested in resolving one problem or another, such an interest and conviction and, therefore, enthusiasm for the project spreads among those who work alongside him. The personnel of the party kraykom and the kray executive committee do not have to be "urged on" when it comes to sociocultural problems (something which, frankly speaking, is frequently the case in Siberia as well); they eagerly encourage each new step in this direction. The same attitude is found among the personnel on the rayon level, the economic managers and the workers and kolkhoz members. It is hardly necessary to prove the great role which they personally play in the sociocultural transformation of the kray. They are largely responsible for successes in this area.

In this connection I must mention Hero of Socialist Labor Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kuznetsov, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy and director of the Krasnoyarsk Metallurgical Plant. He is not one of those managers who, initially dealing with production problems alone, subsequently begin painfully to deal with sociocultural matters (which may go on for decades and, in the final account, for which both the personnel and the enterprise pay a high price). The plant operates a sociocultural complex consisting of shop cafeterias, a polyclinic, a preventive treatment hospital, a recreation center, a service house, a marvelous palace of culture and sportsgrounds. While some enterprises have only recently begun to work seriously on their "agrarian shop," the Krasnoyarsk metallurgical workers are already harvesting the fruits of previous activities. The director and the party committee rely on the creative initiative of the collective in all matters.

I was told of the following case: when the metallurgical workers were building their labor palace each shop was assigned its specific sector. All shops were offered the opportunity to improve or invent something within the framework of the approved design. One of the brigades was in charge of setting the marble slabs on the floor but was not satisfied with its own work. During their leisure time the members of the brigade showed up at the construction project with the idea of how to make this marble floor far more beautiful...

I recall Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kuznetsov pointing out that good work is done when there is a feeling of commonness between the workers collective and the kray party committee.

It was that same feeling of commonness which gave birth to the Krasnoyarsk Appeal, signed by party workers, actors, a sovkhos director and a projectionist, a worker, an executive committee chairman, a sculptor and an Olympic Games champion.

"We appeal," they wrote, "to the leading creative collectives in the country, to the artistic intelligentsia of the central parts of the country and to the managements and party organizations of the creative associations.... We need your bright and life-asserting art as much as we need bread! The artistic intelligentsia of the Eastern parts of the country and our kray expects of you a true creative tutorship and methodical and practical assistance...."

"We appeal to all of our neighbors in Siberia and the Far East: let us make our area a kray of high culture! Every oblast, kray and republic behind the Urals has endless reserves for economic and sociocultural growth! In that sense we are the makers of our own happiness. To this day large sums allocated for the development of culture and great efforts are still used inefficiently due to the lack of coordination, purposeful activities and lack of harmony! Yet the noble objective mandates a sensible handling of possibilities: the cultural potential already existing in the eastern part of the country, and the enthusiasm of the Siberians and the Far Easterners. This is also mandated to us by the daily and comprehensive concern shown by the party and the government for Siberia and the Far Eastern parts of the country to develop harmoniously, combining economic, social and cultural growth factors.

"We love our kray and will do everything possible to turn it into an area of high culture!"

The first to respond to the Krasnoyarsk Appeal was Kuzbass, followed by Altay Kray. Siberia and the Far East not only warmly supported the Krasnoyarsk initiative but earmarked their own specific means for the accelerated development of the sociocultural complex. This is another outstanding characteristic: the idea was taken up but everywhere its implementation was based on local experience and the special problems specific to one area or another, for Siberia appears as an entity only on the map. In Omsk, for example, each rayon considered a five-year plan for cultural development; the people of Tomsk drafted a single oblast "cultural three-year plan;" the people of Irkutsk drafted a comprehensive oblast program. Novosibirsk, Tyumen, Ulan-Ude, Chita, Blagoveshchensk and others responded to the appeal.

Immediately following the publication of the Krasnoyarsk Appeal, the editorial room of SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA was literally drowned in a flood of communications. BAM construction workers, petroleum workers, architects, managers of philharmonic orchestras, club workers, writers, students, workers, painters and musicians noted the timeliness of this movement and considered means for the practical implementation of the stipulation of the 26th CPSU Congress on the need to eliminate social disparities on the territorial level. This will be unquestionably helped by sharply increased attention to sociocultural problems. For almost 3 years virtually every issue of SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA has carried articles describing the implementation of this important initiative. The journalists, to whom the "Siberian direction" because most important, believe that their task is not to act as impartial chroniclers but as active propagandists and organizers, as the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized. Reality confirmed the accuracy and effectiveness of this work. Let me note with satisfaction that never before has the newspaper been so energetically supported by kray and oblast party committees in Siberia as it has been during that time.

The artistic intelligentsia of Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of union republics and the large cultural centers warmly responded to the Krasnoyarsk Appeal. Plans were drafted and consolidated and, above all, concretized for permanent creative contacts and practical cooperation with Siberia and the Far East in organizing unions of writers, composers, painters, architects and cinematographers; plans for performances, book publishing, health care organization, the motion picture industry, communal farms, sports committees and consumer services were refined with a "Siberian slant." As it turned out, although the whole project gathered momentum a few years ago, a great deal was owed to the Siberian people; it became apparent that everyone could do considerably more than had been initially planned.

The USSR Bol'shoi Theater, inspired by the special atmosphere of its initial performances in the Kuzbass, opened in Kemerovo (when had that ever happened in the past?) a subscription for best performers and became the sponsor of its junior colleague in Krasnoyarsk. The Hermitage offered Tyumen's oil-bearing area aid in organizing mobile exhibits and consultations to local museums. The Leningrad Drama Theater imeni A. S. Pushkin organized exchanges with Tomsk of shows, directors and actors....

The old festivals ("Aurora Borealis" in Tomsk, the BAM "Mainline Fires") have assumed a new content and attracted the best performers. New mass art celebrations, such as "Sayan Fires" and "Kuzbass Dawns" have been established. Incidentally, while the idea of a festival timed for Miner's Day was being discussed in Kemerovo, the decision was made to appeal to Leningrad. The people on the banks of the Neva did more than simply respond to the request: no single city, worker settlement or village in the Kuzbass was left without envoys of Lenin's city--noted writers, painters and leading performer groups--addressing or performing for metallurgical workers, miners and farmworkers.

The example set by the Leningraders is particularly important. They set the tone. They secured a standard of mastery which has become a standard for anyone who follows them in Siberia. This is a protection from the hacks and the organizers of cultural services to Siberia who continue to think that "anything goes" that far away. No, the demands of the people today are different.

For example, here is what I found out in Kuzbass about Lev Zakharovich Filimonov, first secretary of the Belovo city party committee. His dream was for the city's Pioneer palace to be decorated by painters from Palekh. The two letters which were sent from Belovo to Palekh received no answer and the secretary personally went to see the noted Russian masters. He must have been quite persuasive, for the Palekh people organized a special Belovo brigade. The persistence of the secretary becomes understandable after seeing the creation of the Palekh masters. The story room has been painted with such a degree of imagination and warmth and such love for the children and highest respect for talent that I must honestly admit never having seen anything like it. Such is also the case of the tremendous murals depicting Gor'kiy's Burevestnik and Pushkin's Lukomorye.... Nowhere else behind the Urals is there such a wonderful Pioneer palace as in Belovo, the city of miners.

Today Lev Zakharovich admits that as the project was nearing completion he almost lost heart as he listened to the suggestion of roping off the murals to prevent the children from leaving their fingerprints on the works. We found here neither ropes nor enclosed areas, or even the slightest trace of children's hands. As was the case with the works of the Leningraders, a standard of excellence was set here. The reaction was the creation of a need for high cultural standards and true respect for culture. Such standards can and must lead to more serious conclusions on the complex problems of contemporary life, labor standards, successful production plans, retention of cadres and many other difficult matters with which the gorkom secretary must deal.

Following are the thoughts of Lev Zakharovich on this matter:

"Belovo's features and the power of its industrial potential are determined by the mines, the coal faces. We must double our coal output during the next decade. We must double it! Naturally, increasing labor productivity and taking into consideration the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution are mandatory for progress. However, we cannot do without an influx of new forces. Until very recently I, as a secretary, considered this problem among the most difficult. Today I have a feeling of confidence. Do you know why? Because the city has become more attractive to the working person, the young people in particular. In that sense the Pioneer Palace was like the first swallow in spring. A great deal of work remains to be done to make our city a place where people want to live. In this sense we can be greatly helped by the leading masters of culture, many of whom have already come to Belovo in response to the appeal "Let Us Make Siberia an Area of High Culture!"

Such are the distant ramifications of something which may not seem to be the main factor against the background of Siberian economic development, involving a festival produced by Leningrad stars, subscriptions to the theater in Moscow and the Palekh murals on the walls of the Pioneer Palace....

The "Siberian direction" has become consolidated in the activities of creative associations and art institutions in recent years. In 1983 Surikov days were celebrated and the board of the RSFSR Union of Painters held its plenum in Krasnoyarsk; the "calendar of meetings" in Omsk included a festival of Soviet music and a session of the secretariat of the board of the RSFSR Union of Composers; Kuzbass held a large music festival; contemporary problems were considered by cinematographers on the basis of feature and documentary films shown in Novosibirsk. The Bol'shoy Theater Ballet performed for the workers in the Far East on its way back from a tour of Japan.

Let us give Siberians their due: they are not only hospitable, they are active in their searches, they are efficient in their organization and inventive and initiative-minded in cultural construction. Unquestionably, these qualities are important. However, no less important is something else: the support given to their plans and initiatives, both emotional and practical.

However, they are still frequently forced to cope with the obstacles resulting from departmental instructions and the "global" approach to problems of



sociocultural life, an approach which ignores the characteristics of Siberia. We have cities in which even the naked eye can see that more than enough houses of culture and entertainment enterprises exist. The problem here is different: to fill them with people who would not come as instructed.... A different approach is needed for the distant Siberian areas where some of the cities are younger than their population. The Siberians would find it very desirable for some departmental instructions to include the words "taking into consideration." It is precisely by taking into consideration the way the problem of Siberia arises today and what it resolves that I shall mention once again matters such as the building of kindergartens, schools, movie theaters, and dance and concert youth halls. Many ministries and departments should address themselves directly to sociocultural problems. However, the obsolete approach of building a plant while most important sociocultural projects remain on paper only is being all too slowly surmounted. As Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, particularly emphasized in his speech at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we must demand the implementation of plans for the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, children's preschool establishments and communal service projects.

The importance of the Krasnoyarsk initiative and the response to it lies in the more extensive discovery of talent in Siberia and the Far East for the sake of the entire country. In recent years Moscow and Leningrad lovers of the arts have welcomed not only collectives which they have liked for some time such as, for example, the Novosibirsk Ballet and Opera or the Omsk Drama Theater, which have frequently performed in the capital city, but also the theater groups of Komsomolsk on the Amur, Blagoveshchensk or Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka, previously unknown in the central part of the country.... For quite some time we have been familiar with the Krasnoyarsk Siberian Dance Ensemble and with People's Artist of the USSR Mikhail Godenko, its manager. However, the performances of this collective at the Olympic Games celebration in Moscow exceeded all expectations. Yet we find in that same Krasnoyarsk the excellent Yeniseyushka Folklore Ensemble, excellent pop-circus performers, good singers and a high quality symphony orchestra. All of this was discovered in the course of the performances of the kray's philharmonic orchestra in Moscow. The original collectives of northern ethnic groups assembled an unusually vast audience in the concert areas of the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

It is true, let us note in passing, that the discovery of Siberian talent turned out to be not only pleasant but, alas, quite dangerous to that same Siberia. Some of the best performers were offered positions in other collectives, in warmer areas. Naturally, Moscow and other large cultural centers must become familiar with Siberian names and help to establish their popularity throughout the union. However, paying attention to Siberian culture does not mean acting to its detriment.

The Central House of Fine Arts showed a good initiative by opening its 1981 season with a meeting with Krasnoyarsk people. This has now become traditional. At the beginning of last year a meeting was held with representatives of the Kuzbass. Such evenings have become noticeable events in

the capital's cultural life. They could not be forgotten, for gathered in the hall were noted men of arts who were not easy to impress. We believe that such meetings must be adopted by all creative clubs of the artistic intelligentsia in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other cultural centers in the country as a steady practice. Creative reports, meetings, exhibitions and concerts are a good way of becoming familiar with Siberian talent and discovering it. The fact that closer contacts and cooperating between central and Siberian creative VUZs, philharmonics, theaters and museums has become the rule is important. Siberia has something to offer and, naturally, it is important for the Siberians to hear the advice of recognized masters and to feel their interested attention. This creates the feeling that although far from Moscow one could nevertheless be close to it.

As we pointed out, the creative unions are not ignoring Siberia. "Landings" by writers in the oil-bearing Tyumen area and Shushenskoye and in the Far East have become events for writers and readers. Meetings with composers, musicians and actors at the BAM and other shock construction projects in Siberia have given pleasure to many lovers of the arts. With increasing frequency "Siberian" problems are being discussed during the on-site sessions of secretariats and creative commissions. So far, however, we must honestly admit that this is only the beginning. For example, it is important to consider structural and organizational problems which also could serve as a "barometer" of the attention paid to distant areas. A number of large centers in Siberia and the Far East have no sections of creative unions and the number of the creative unions working in areas east of the Urals remains extremely small. Naturally, this is no simple problem and working in spurts in such matters is inappropriate. However, the organization of departments of creative unions (for example, the Krasnoyarsk organization of the RSFSR Union of Composers was created recently) in large Siberian and Far Eastern centers would help to gather talent and create favorable conditions for the development of capable creative young people.

Unwittingly the justified experience of Siberian science comes to mind in this connection. Incidentally, the quarter of a century of history of this academic city in Novosibirsk convincingly proved that this is also a place, as the Belovo city party committee secretary said, where one would like to live and work. The USSR Academy of Sciences has a "quota" of full and corresponding members of the Siberian department. What if the same principle were to be extended to the USSR Academy of Fine Arts, for example? Naturally, although this is something to be accomplished in the future, why not think about it? Currently, the academy intends to open in Krasnoyarsk a creative workshop. As to the Siberians themselves, they value the true masters and are prepared to provide all the necessary conditions for their fruitful work.

Therefore, Siberia calls upon not only the members of shock detachments. It also needs painters, actors, writers, composers, and musicians. Here all talents will be revealed and reestablished.

Time flies and, with the Siberian acceleration, it flies even faster, for the scale sets the pace. That which the Siberians have been able to accomplish after the 26th Congress during the period of existence and active functioning of the Krasnoyarsk initiative creates confidence in the future.

The Food Program, which made us look more closely at matters in depth, without which it would be difficult to resolve strategic and pivotal economic problems, provided a new impetus for sociocultural changes in Siberia. Agricultural upsurge in Siberia presumes concern for keeping the peasant on the land, which means satisfying his greater requirements for efficient organization and higher work standards, the opportunity for further studies in traveling along good roads, comfortable housing and modern houses of culture.

I remember the pride with which Gennadiy Petrovich Levin, secretary of the Yashkinskiy CPSU raykom, Kemerovo Oblast, showed the new house of culture of Kolmogorovski Sovkhoz, of which he was director at that time. The hall was as good as any in the capital but without luxury; the stage could accommodate any group; painters had imaginatively painted the foyer. Levin used in his conversation the word "prestigious"--in the sense that the sovkhoz workers, when meeting noted masters of the arts, have already the feeling that the village has a prestigious life, changing visibly, and that the influence of artistic culture and beauty will, in the final account, enhance production standards as well. With the same type of pride Mikhail Matveyevich Verner, director of the neighboring sovkhoz, showed off the music school. He showed off all the classrooms and played the piano, after which he went to the construction site: here there was choice housing, strong, made of bricks, with lots of window space...

No, it is not for nothing that raykom secretaries, sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen are concerned with clubs, kindergartens, music schools and new housing. These people take a long-range view on things. They do not like to waste their money. Yet here they are trying to procure new curtains and modern furniture. In the past many of them conceitedly told their neighbors that "the better mind is the mind which is ahead." Today as well, although competition with the neighbor is not in the last place, the main feature is the pressure of the masses, the mood of the people. At the Leninsk-Kuznetskiy party raykom in the Kuzbass I was told:

"You know what we must face with increasing frequency when we assign a specialist or a mechanizer to a village? He asks if there is a music school for his little daughter."

Yes, this is one of the questions on the agenda of the party worker today. Like many others, it was rarely considered a few years ago.

A great deal has been accomplished of late to develop the cultural potential of Siberia and the Far East. Today the krais, oblasts and autonomous republics east of the Urals have 74 theaters, 17 symphony and chamber orchestras, seven song-and-dance ensembles, two choirs, 74 museums, 106 culture parks, 17,000 clubs, more than 28,000 libraries and more than 1,400 movies. However, whereas these figures are pleasing by themselves, if we compare them with the unsatisfied local needs, we would acquire a proper idea of how many more efforts must be applied "to outfit Siberia culturally." Many cultural centers in towns and villages need repairs. However, it is not a question merely of building or repairing. Cadres, specialists and enthusiasts involved in cultural and educational work are needed. Every year the seven

higher and 58 secondary schools teaching culture and the arts in Siberia and the Far East graduate some 5,000 specialists, including 1,300 with a higher education degree. However, the "hunger" for specialists is far from being sated. At the KATEK where, as is the case with all large construction projects, many difficult problems remain. One of the most important among them that I heard was to meet the demand for graduates of the Culture Institute.

I am saying all this to give an idea of the vast range of sociocultural problems on which the party committees of Siberian krais and oblasts are concentrating today. Residential districts and kindergartens, clubs, hostels, maternity homes, hospitals, movie theaters, art schools for children, daily life amenities, amateur performances, chief theater directors and modest workers in culture and education are all equally important, all require funds, specific steps, studies of trends and real concern. That is why such problems are being increasingly discussed by party committee bureaus and plenums. The initiative of the people of Krasnoyarsk, formulated counter-obligations and long-term programs, resulted in more systematic party attention to problems of the accelerated development of the sociocultural complex. The USSR Ministry of Culture approved the consolidated plan for 1981-1985, which was drafted with the participation of all interested organizations. A number of ministries and departments have offered their services in the formulation of regional long-term systems plans. Joint decrees are being formulated by local party organs and collegiums of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, RSFSR Goskino and RSFSR Ministry of Health. The USSR Ministry of Culture recently held a zonal conference of workers in culture and the arts in Tomsk. Unfortunately, so far no equally interested attention to such problems has been paid by many industrial ministries and their party committees.

Not every project can advance by itself. The importance of control over the implementation of resolutions and verification of obligations are understandably important. Here again the people of Krasnoyarsk set the example for other party committees. On the basis of a study and comprehensive critical consideration the situation in Khakasiya, the kray party committee bureau passed a resolution which essentially is a manual for action for all rayon and city party committees. The attention is directed to the following: the ideas contained in the initiative should not become "bogged down on the upper levels." Like any other initiative, the force of this movement lies in its mass nature, in understanding its meaning, objectives and prospects by the personnel on all levels of the apparatus and all working people. The Krasnoyarsk Kray executive committee studied the development of the initiative by taking Kanskiy Rayon as an example. Conditions regulating the socialist competition among cities and rayons in the kray under the slogan "Let Us Make Siberia an Area of High Culture!" were formulated. This is a new form of competition in which the Krasnoyarsk experience, we believe, will be of use to the entire area.

In developing organizational experience, practical work calls for the search for new work methods. The meeting between the people of Krasnoyarsk and Kemerovo revealed, among other things, the inadequacy of information regarding the good and useful accomplishments of one's neighbors. We believe that such meetings should take place more frequently. Reciprocal visits should be

organized by small delegations of cities and villages. A concrete approach is a prerequisite for success. However, it is sometimes in short supply. The suggestion submitted by many party committees of holding a practical science conference on problems of the movement for high culture in Siberia were not accidental.

Incidentally, the experience of the first school classes in the Kuzbass and Krasnoyarsk Kray could be used in other oblasts even outside Siberia. An excellent book for adolescents could be compiled from the compositions of school students on their native area. It would be a continuation of the familiar Gorkiy tradition. Do you remember "We Are From Igarka"? Such a book would now be entitled "We Are from Siberia" and would vividly describe to the adolescents our way of life, the changes which have taken place on these vast areas and the character of the Soviet person.

It is important, we believe, that the experience and problems of the movement based on the Krasnoyarsk initiative to be of interest to the USSR Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy. It would be useful to show the scope of work done for the cultural transformation of Siberia and the experience in the cooperation between the creative intelligentsia from other parts of the country and the Siberians. Unquestionably, the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy will have the cooperation of party committees in Siberia's krays and oblasts.

The party press as well could make its contribution to the dissemination of the experience. Let us recall the good example of the "three-sided" cooperation among the editors of the newspapers KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY, KUZBASS and ALTAYSKAYA PRAVDA, who published a special topic issue. Many Siberian newspapers carry material on the development of the Krasnoyarsk initiative on a daily basis. It would be suitable for the USSR Union of Journalists to sum up the experience gained in covering this topic, for it is a question of an initial experience in a project as difficult as it is important.

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## LEGENDARY EPIC OF COURAGE AND HEROISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)  
pp 101-111

[Article by L. Zaykov, Leningrad CPSU Obkom first secretary; written on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of renaming Petrograd to Leningrad and the 40th anniversary of the full lifting of the enemy siege of the city]

[Text] Sixty years ago, taking into consideration the great merits of the Peter workers and the important role played by the city on the Neva, where the great Lenin laid the foundations of the Bolshevik Party and headed the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the world, on the request of the workers of red Peter, the Second Congress of Soviets renamed Petrograd to Leningrad. "May henceforth this largest center of the proletarian revolution," the 26 January 1924 congress decree read, "be forever linked to the name of Vladimir Il'ich Ul'yanov-Lenin, the greatest of proletarian leaders."

During the memorable days of parting with the leader the Peter workers held large meetings everywhere. "We swear in the name of all proletarian Peter," they unanimously proclaimed, "to march in the steely line of fighters under the Leninist banner of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) undividedly and steadfastly toward the great objective -- communism.... We swear to defend our worker-peasant socialist fatherland fearlessly and always, with the muscles of our worker hands, our collective mind and our heart's blood."

During the last six decades the Leningraders invariably remained loyal to the Leninist behests, the cause of the communist party and the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people. This was vividly manifested in the socialist accomplishments of the first five-year plans, during the heroic days of the city's defense of unfading glory in the Great Patriotic War and in the dedicated work for the good of the fatherland after the war.

Today the working people of Leningrad and its oblast see as their main task tireless work for the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy, further developed in the December 1983 Central Committee Plenum decree and the speech at the plenum delivered by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. Guided by this most important political document, the people of Leningrad, like all Soviet people, are struggling for the advancement of the socialist economy, for improving the organization and strengthening the discipline and trying to fulfill their patriotic duty --

strengthening the economic and defense power of the Soviet state -- even better.

During the period of the 60th anniversary of naming our city after Lenin and the 40th anniversary of the final lifting of the fascist blockade, again and again our thoughts and feelings turn to our communist party and its battle staff, the Leninist Central Committee. In the stormy years of war and in peace the party gave and is giving tremendous support to the working people of Leningrad, inspiring their military and labor exploits in the name of the homeland.

## I

As they celebrate these two noteworthy anniversaries in the life of the city on the Neva, the people of Leningrad become even more deeply aware of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's brilliant prediction: "A people, majority of whose workers and have learned, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet system, the system of the working people, that they are defending the cause the victory of which will allow them and their children to enjoy all the benefits of culture and everything created through human toil will never be conquered" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 315).

The historical accuracy of Lenin's words was confirmed during the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet people not only defended their freedom and independence but made a decisive contribution to the victory over fascism and saved mankind from Hitlerite slavery. The fortieth anniversary of the lifting of the enemy siege of Leningrad brings back to the memory one of the most heroic pages of that military epic.

In its plans for the war against the Soviet Union Hitlerite Germany ascribed great importance to the seizure of Leningrad -- the cradle of the socialist revolution. One of the Wehrmacht's three strategic groups -- the Group of Armies North -- was given this assignment. Relying on a tremendous superiority in manpower and equipment, the fascist strategists hoped to seize Leningrad 1 month after the beginning of the war against the USSR, as stipulated in the Barbarossa plan. However, they made a grave error. With the population's support the Soviet forces repelled the enemy firmly and decisively. For the first time in World War II the elite Hitlerite units, which had overrun half of Europe meeting virtually no resistance, came across an impregnable fortress -- Lenin's city -- and were forced to halt at the wall of the Neva fortress.

The active combat operations of the Red Army along the other sectors of the front greatly influenced the outcome of the struggle against the German fascist aggressors on the approaches to Leningrad. The battles at the Luga front, the Pulkovo elevations, the Oranienburg bridgehead and the Neva "snout," the victories at Tikhvino and Volkhovo and the heroic actions of the Kronshtadt seamen also played an important role during the period of defensive battles. All of this made it possible to block major enemy forces and to gain additional time during which to organize the resistance to the enemy.

Having failed in their hopes of capturing Leningrad on the march and, subsequently by assault, on 8 September 1941 the fascists encircled the city

with the steel ring of the blockade. They cut off all land communications with the rest of the country. No less than 2.5 million civilians, including some 400,000 children, remained in the area squeezed by the enemy's pincers.

The fascists did everything possible to crush the resistance of the Leningraders. The city was subjected to daily massed shelling and bombing. During the siege some 150,000 artillery shells and 107,158 high-explosive and incendiary bombs were thrown at the city.

However, fierce hunger was the main monstrous weapon on which the Hitlerites relied in fighting the population. At the start of the blockade Leningrad had a 35-day flour and grain supply. Bread rations were reduced on five different occasions. As of 20 November 1941 the daily surrogate bread ration was 250 grams per worker and 125 grams per other resident. The already difficult situation was worsened by the severe cold: water and sewer mains broke down. There was no fuel and power. All of these factors sharply increase the population's mortality rate. Between November 1941 and March 1942 alone more than 263,000 Leningraders died of hunger. Frontline Leningrad lived and fought in a state of unparalleled stress of physical and spiritual forces.

During the days when mortal danger was threatening the city the Leningrad party organization, guided by the VKP (b) Central Committee, mobilized all forces to repel the enemy. Like during the days of the October Revolution Smolnyy became the battle headquarters. It was to this address that the major assignments and directives of the Central Committee and the orders of Supreme Command Headquarters and the State Defense Committee were sent. It was from here that the numerous lines of the organization of the city's defense stretched. It was here that the oblast and city party committees worked, headed by A. A. Zhdanov, the noted leader of the communist party and the Soviet state.

The Leningrad Front Military Council played a major role in the defense of Leningrad. This military and political organ, which combined the military command and the management of the oblast and city party organizations, was headed at different times by the outstanding military commanders K. Ye. Voroshilov, G. K. Zhukov and L. A. Govorov.

The Leningrad party organization -- a combat-tried detachment of the Leninist party -- was the organizer and the soul of the city's defense. It relied on rich party experience, great revolutionary traditions and strong cadres and rallied the front and the rear and all defenders of Leningrad. Arms in hand, 87,000 party members and more than 200,000 Komsomols of the city and oblast fought in the front ranks without sparing their lives. They were united by their inflexible loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, sacred love for the homeland and bitter hatred of the enemy.

It is impossible to read without emotion lines from preserved blockade diaries, a vivid confirmation of the invincible communist spirit: "What if we are short of bread, and the enemy is shelling our homes. As long as a party organization exists in the city, as long as a single bolshevik remains alive Leningrad will not surrender or bend its proud head in front of the enemy."



What helped the Leningrad party organization successfully to resolve the most difficult problems of the city's defense was its profound ties to the people and the boundless faith which the people had in it. A convincing proof of this faith is the fact that during the war more than 85,000 people in Leningrad and its oblast joined the communist party. The flow of new members into the party remained steady even during the hardest period of the first winter of the blockade.

Every single Leningrader found his place in the struggle against the enemy. The city's population countered the mortal danger and most severe trials it experienced with inflexible will and courage, greatest possible organization and discipline. "The Neva will begin to flow backward before Leningrad will become fascist!" This rocklike statement became the oath of the city-soldier at that time.

The firmness and courage of the people's militia divisions and fighter battalions which fearlessly fought the fascists will be forever part of the history of the unparalleled defense of besieged Leningrad. The people's militia alone supplied the front with more than 135,000 courageous fighters.

Antitank ditches about 630 kilometers long, 15,000 pillboxes and other defensive installations built during the very first months of the war by the dedicated Leningraders solidly blocked the access routes to the city on the Neva.

The city's heroic working class forged the weapons for victory under exceptionally difficult conditions. Unsparingly, working in the shops for days on end, under incessant shelling and bombing men, women, old people and adolescents worked to exhaustion to supply the army and navy with all they needed.

Working Leningrad accomplished a feat equal to its military valor. Although 133 large enterprises had been evacuated from the city, industrial output increased from 1.4 billion rubles in 1941 to 3.6 billion in 1944.

The main task -- meeting the needs of the front -- was fulfilled successfully. Even during the worse period for Leningrad -- the last months of 1941 -- at the very peak of the battle for Moscow, its working people sent by air to the defenders of the capital more than 1,000 field guns and mortars. Throughout the blockade the Leningraders repaired and made 2,000 tanks, 1,500 airplanes, thousands of artillery guns, 225,000 automatic weapons, 12,000 mortars and about 10 million shells and mines. It is thus that the working people of the city on the Neva made a most worthy contribution to the victory over Hitlerite Germany.

Those who, under the threat of an imminent death maintained the traffic along the "Lifeline" -- the only artery which linked the besieged city to the rest of the land, deserve a special place in the ranks of the heroic defenders of Leningrad. Thanks to the heroes of this track about 1.4 million Leningraders were saved from the enemy's steel claws of blockade and hunger. Hundreds of thousands of tons of freight were supplied to the defending city by water and over the ice at the cost of many lives.

Leningrad's scientists and engineering and technical workers worked selflessly and tirelessly under the harsh conditions of the blockade. Under the light of oil lamps, weakened people worked around the clock to develop new fuel and raw material substitutes for industry, food and defense products. Leningrad's scientists, engineers and specialists added outstanding pages to the history of the progress of Soviet war-time science and technology.

The Soviet medical workers, who did everything possible to defeat the fascist plan of strangling the city with terrible epidemics and diseases, were models of true patriotism and humanism. They honorably fulfilled their most noble mission by dedicating themselves to the struggle for the life and health of the Leningraders. The Blood Transfusion Institute became a combat post. Tens of thousands of people regularly came here to donate blood for the wounded. In 1942 alone there were some 57,000 donors. Considering the hunger blockade, this was a heroic exploit!

The creative intelligentsia carried the banner of Soviet art high through the crucible of the war. Cultural life in Leningrad did not slow down for a single day even during the first winter of the blockade. Here Shostakovich's patriotic music was born and the fiery speeches of V. Vishnevskiy and the passionate poems of O. Berggol'ts led the people in the struggle against the enemy. Throughout the blockade the musical comedy theater played to packed audiences. A new drama theater, subsequently named after V. F. Komissarzhevskaya, was born here during the war. To this day the art of besieged Leningrad stands as an example of the ineradicable love of life and powerful spiritual strength of the Soviet people.

The mortal threat hanging over the cradle of the October Revolution roused the entire country. Words of encouraging fraternal greetings and support reached Leningrad from all parts of our huge fatherland while the battle for the immediate approaches to the city was being fought. The inspired poetry of Dzhambul, the national poet of Kazakhstan, were a vivid expression of these feelings: "Leningraders, my children! Leningraders, my pride!..."

In answer to the party's Central Committee call a nationwide campaign for help to Lenin's city was mounted. "Our forces, the forces of the great and free Soviet people, are infinite," wrote the old Krasnaya Presna workers, veterans of the 1905 and 1917 revolutionary battles. "The whole country, the old and the young, rises with you in defending our dear Leningrad from the fascist predator."

Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Tadzhiks literally sacrificed their last piece of bread to contribute all they could to the fund for fraternal aid to the fighting city. The working people of Vologda collected funds for the "Heroic Leningrad" air force squadron; those of Kirovsk, for the tank column imeni A. Petrova, the Leningrad partisan; the people of Orenburg, for an armored torpedo boat for the Baltic Fleet. Twenty-eight fraternal republics, krays and oblasts accepted and surrounded with concern, warmth and care hundreds of thousands of evacuated blockade children.

The great sons and daughters of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union and all branches of the Soviet armed forces fought in the battle for Leningrad: the Leningrad, Northwestern, Volkhov, Karelian and Second Baltic fronts, the Baltic Fleet, the Ladoga and Onega navy flotillas and the long-range aviation.

The historical victories of the Red Army at Moscow, Stalingrad and the Kursk Arc were of decisive importance to the outcome of events along the entire Soviet-German front.

Thanks to the tremendous organizational activities of the communist party, the help provided by the rest of the country, the thorough training of assault force groups, the many thousands-strong partisan army, the total defense mobilization of Leningrad's industrial and scientific and technical potential, and the monolithic unity between front and rear, decisive superiority over the enemy in military strength and equipment was attained. The long-awaited offensive period in the battle for Leningrad came. Its victorious finale was predetermined by the breach of the city's blockade on 18 January 1943.

This happy event, which gave rise to general exultation, was a turning point in the unparalleled Leningrad epic. Henceforth the combat initiative entirely passed into the hands of the Soviet forces and the city was able to establish a link with the rest of the country via a railroad which was built in an extremely short time along the southern bank of Shlisselburg Bay by decision of the State Defense Committee. Trains carrying fuel, raw materials, ammunition and food rolled toward Leningrad along this frontline track known as Victory Road; in turn, the city's industry used it to ship goods for the army and the various parts of the country. Aid to the besieged and the population of Leningrad Oblast was increased significantly.

The defenders of the Neva fortress gathered strength. The days of the fascist aggressors at Leningrad became numbered. The Soviet forces persistently readied themselves for dealing a decisive strike at the enemy. While awaiting the signal for the offensive, many regiments swore under their battle flags to avenge the wounds inflicted on Lenin's city.

Powerful artillery shelling signalled the beginning of the final stage of the battle for Leningrad on 14 January 1944. The North Wall -- the steel ring of the enemy blockade, much-vaunted by the Hitlerites, collapsed under the irresistible strikes of the Soviet forces. A large group of fascist hordes suffered a crushing defeat.

On the evening of 27 January the city on the Neva saluted the valorous troops of the Leningrad Front and the seamen of the Baltic Fleet, who had honorably fulfilled their assignment, with a solemn artillery salvo. As a result of the fierce battles the enemy's siege of Lenin's city was entirely lifted, and toward the end of February the almost entire oblast had been cleared from the hated aggressors. The success of this operation created favorable conditions for a strike by the Soviet forces in Belorussia, the Karelian Isthmus and the Baltic area.

The partisan army of 13 large brigades, was of great help to the Soviet troops. The flames of the people's war against the fascist occupation forces were burning everywhere. This prevented the enemy from totally devastating the occupied cities and villages in our oblast and killing and enslaving its population. In the course of the Leningrad and Novgorod operations the partisans killed more than 21,000 Hitlerites and derailed 136 enemy trains. The Red Army's offensive on the front and the actions of the thousands-strong partisan army operating behind enemy lines became a single powerful hit.

The mass heroism of Leningrad's defenders was highly rated by the homeland. Orders and medals were awarded to more than one million soldiers, officers and partisans. More than 600 people were awarded the high title Hero of the Soviet Union. Dozens of army formations and units were presented awards and given honorary titles.

During the three years of fierce fighting for Leningrad, which covered the virtually entire northwestern part of the USSR, the enemy did not succeed in destroying even a single one of the major industrial, scientific and cultural centers in our country. The plans of the fascist strategists for dealing an irreparable moral blow at the patriotic spirit of the Soviet people, to whom the city on the Neva was linked by the most sacred name of Lenin and the October Revolution, crumbled.

The Leningraders proved invincible because under the exceptional conditions of the blockade they remained loyal to the cause of the party and the people and fought for the triumph of the Leninist ideals to their last heart beat. In the mortal combat against fascism they honorably kept the oath they had sworn in January 1924, when Petrograd was given Lenin's name.

In a speech at the ceremony at which the city hero was awarded the order of Lenin, in 1945, M. I. Kalinin said: "The centuries will pass but the accomplishment of the Leningrad people, the men and women, the old people and the children of this city....will never recede from the memory of even the most distant generations."

Leningrad welcomed Victory Day with the feeling of fulfilled patriotic duty to the country. A new stage in the history of Lenin's city began with the end of the Great Patriotic War.

Time flies. However, the more time separates us from the fiery days and nights of the war the greater becomes in the eyes of the world the immortal exploit of the Soviet people, who defended the gains of the October Revolution at the cost of tremendous sacrifices.

The historical victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitlerite Germany clearly proved the unbreakable strength and tremendous advantages of the the socialist system, the power of the Soviet state, the omnipotence of the communist ideas, the monolithic moral and political unity within our society and the vital strength of the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The role of the Leninist party as the leader and organizer of the defense of the socialist fatherland was fully displayed in the nationwide struggle against fascism.

## II

In defending the freedom and independence of the homeland in the hardest battle against fascism, the Soviet people accomplished another very great exploit: they not only fully rebuilt within an extremely short time the national economy destroyed by the enemy but also built developed socialism -- the highest stage in the present social progress of mankind -- during the postwar decades.

Leningrad is a good example of this. Those who did not experience the war find it difficult to imagine what the city looked like after the siege was lifted and the heroic efforts which its population had to make to rebuild Leningrad and make it even more beautiful.

The direct physical damage caused to the city and its suburbs by the fascist aggressors amounted to some 40 billion rubles in prewar prices. More than 10,000 residential houses and over 1,000 industrial buildings were totally destroyed. Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Gatchina, Lomonosov and Petrodvorets lay in ruins. The cultural and artistic achievements of universal importance, created by the toil and the talent of many generations were plundered or mercilessly destroyed.

Such were to the Leningraders the terrible consequences of the war. Nevertheless, they found in themselves the strength to surmount the hardships. Together with the rest of the country, rallied around the communist party and its Leninist Central Committee and relying on the friendship and support of all Soviet peoples, the working people of Leningrad and its oblast won a new victory, this time one of labor.

The restoration of the city was completed in its essential lines as early as 1948, and totally by 1950. Industry reached its prewar level of overall output 5 years after the siege was lifted. The most important task set by the party's Central Committee of making Leningrad one of the largest center of scientific and technical progress was resolved in a short time.

By the mid-1950s the number of workers in the city approximately equalled the prewar level while industrial output had increased by a factor of 2.3. The people of Leningrad exhibited some 400 items at the Brussels World Fair in 1958, of a quality rivalling the best world models. Their first programmed machine tools, new powerful models of hydraulic turbines and optical and mechanical instruments and apparatus won the highest awards.

The fast postwar restoration and development of the city hero rested on the firm foundations of the socialist economy and the reliable base laid before the war as a result of the country's industrialization, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution, tested and tempered during the trying times of the Patriotic War. The merit of the Leningraders was that they implemented in an innovative and creative way the tasks set by the party at each stage and invested all their strength and their hearts in building developed socialism and strengthening the economic and defense might of the socialist homeland. They always steadfastly implemented Lenin's instruction: "The Peter workers must be among the first on the economic front as well" (op. cit, vol 45, p 277. We follow this instruction to this day.

Today Leningrad's industrial output equals that of the entire country in 1935. Compared to 1970, in 1982 alone its productive capital was higher by a factor of 2.2.

Most profound changes indicating the socioeconomic maturity of Soviet society have taken place in literally all fields of life. About 40 million square meters of new housing were built in accordance with the general plan for the development of Leningrad between 1966 and 1983; during the postwar period housing facilities increased by a factor of more than 2.5.

During the period under consideration kindergartens and nurseries for 148,000 children, schools for 277,000 students, polyclinics for 71,000 consultations per shift and 527 stores were built. The subway was extended by 53 kilometers. In carefully restoring and preserving their unique historical ensembles, the people of Leningrad are trying to make their city a truly socialist one, a city which would offer the people the best possible working, living and recreation conditions.

The appearance of Leningrad Oblast also has substantially changed over the past years. The beautiful Sosnovyy Bor and the city of Kirishi stand where 40 years ago fierce battles were fought, and where there were only the ashes of villages and ruins of cities remained on the ground soaked with the blood of our soldiers and torn by shells. The ancient Tikhvin was reborn and the new Kingisepp has risen. Even on a national scale these cities rank as major centers of nuclear energy and petroleum refining, machine building and fertilizer production. The industrial aspect of even the most remote oblast rayons has changed.

Along with industry, agriculture has made considerable progress. It is characterized today by high level production mechanization, specialization and concentration. Specialized farms account for nearly 90 percent of the milk and vegetable output. Powerful cattle and hog breeding complexes, such as the Pashskiy, Volna, Novyy Svet and Vostochnyy, were created. Large poultry farms were organized. One of them is the Sinyavino Poultry Breeding Association imeni 60-Letiya SSSR, which stands on the site of the battles for breaching the blockade.

Like the rest of the Soviet people, today the people of Leningrad can say with full justification that the land of the soviets, which was restored and transformed during the postwar years and which built a developed socialist society, is the best monument to those who fell in the battle against fascism and all the heroes who defended the homeland. It is our common duty to do everything possible to enhance even further the economic and defense potential of the socialist fatherland.

The Leningrad party organization, which clearly understands its responsibility in resolving the key national problems and implementing the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, summing up the experience acquired in the field of comprehensive economic and social development, is directing the efforts of the working people toward the main target of ensuring the fuller utilization of the available production, scientific and agricultural potential with a view to radically improving labor productivity and public production efficiency on the

basis of its all-round intensification. Today the organizational and political activities of the CPSU obkom, gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the local soviet organs, the economic managements, the trade unions and the Komsomol are subordinated to the implementation of this task.

The better utilization of productive capital, the economical and efficient utilization of material, financial and labor resources, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and production quality improvements have become the main components of this effort. The implementation of a wide range of measures to improve the economic mechanism, production planning and management, improving organization and strengthening state, planning and labor discipline is considered particularly important in accordance with the resolutions of the November 1982 and June and December 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums which met with nationwide support.

The working people of Leningrad and its oblast are answering the party's appeal to act rather than speak loudly, with dedicated toil and new patriotic initiatives. Socialist competition under the slogan "From High Work Quality of Every One to High Collective Labor Efficiency" is spreading.

The results are already apparent. The most essential among them is the stable faster growth of labor productivity compared to the growth rates of output. On this basis, industrial goods worth 9 billion rubles more than during the same period of the preceding five-year plan were produced during the first 3 of the current 5-year period. The level reached in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress proves that the party's course of production intensification and the realistic nature and substantiation of the tasks facing the Leningraders are having a beneficial influence on the development of our economy and are enhancing the responsibility and initiative of cadres and the creative activeness of the masses.

The concentration of forces and resources on the implementation of the most important all-union, sectorial and territorial comprehensive target programs has contributed to the fuller utilization of production and scientific and technical potential. The production of more than 900 new types of goods, many of which meet the highest world standards, developed for the first time in the Soviet Union, is the specific practical result of these efforts.

The level of scientific and technical progress reached in recent years is clearly visible in the largest enterprise in our city. They include the Elektrosila Association, which has undertaken the production of 1 million kilowatt-generating turbines, exceeding the power of the Volkhov GES, the champion of the Soviet hydrolic power industry, by a factor of 15. Recently the Baltic Shipyards launched the "Rossiya," the fourth huge nuclear-powered ship, and laid the keel of another icebreaker. The Kirovskiy Zavod Association is successfully testing the more powerful Kirovets steppe tractors. The collective of the Nevskiy Zavod imeni V. I. Lenin won an outstanding labor victory: together with many other Leningrad enterprises it ensured the series production of the high-efficiency gas pumping GTN-25 units for the long-distance Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline.

The contribution of the working people to the implementation of the Food Program has increased. This made possible the overfulfillment of the assignment for sales to the state of all varieties of agricultural production for the first 3 years of the five-year plan.

After successfully completing the third year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the working people of Leningrad and its oblast began the next responsible stage in their work. The implementation of the major assignments set by the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be of great importance in the further development of Leningrad's economic development and in improving all aspects of the life of the Soviet people.

Guided by the stipulations formulated by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, the objective of the people of Leningrad is to consolidate their positions and advance along the entire front of economic and cultural construction toward further economic and social upsurge.

This obligates us to see even more clearly existing shortcomings in our work. The past accountability and election meetings and conferences in the party organizations earmarked a broad range of steps to enhance the level of economic management, to strengthen the discipline and increase the individual responsibility of cadres for their assignments and for improving their overall work style.

The party members are always concerned with problems of observing the regimen of thrift, improving population services and increasing the production of consumer goods. We frankly admit that major possibilities remain in these areas. It is important to reach maximal returns from the great production, scientific and technical and agricultural potential. This, precisely, is the target on which the activities of all units within the oblast party organization are focused.

In accordance with the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee a plan was drafted for the comprehensive economic and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast for 1984, based to an even greater extent on economic intensification. We are emphasizing the decisive acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Generally speaking, it is a question, as stipulated in the decree passed by the oblast party committee plenum, to apply extensively in the immediate future progressive technological processes in the city and oblast economy, which will ensure a substantial improvement in labor productivity and quality and significant conservation of material and labor resources through the broad and comprehensive utilization of the latest scientific and technological achievements: design and control systems based on computer use, flexible automated production facilities and, in the future, production complexes based on unmanned and, in a number of cases, wasteless technology.

Specific steps are being taken today to make full use of Leningrad's existing production and scientific potential with a view to the comprehensive acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The coordinating activities of the



USSR Academy of Sciences Leningrad Scientific Center are contributing to the efficient organization of this work.

The task of prime importance, as set at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, of stimulating quality productive labor, efficiency and initiative is being implemented. This is the purpose of the large-scale economic experiments aimed at developing an essentially new type of economic mechanism with which the Soviet economy will enter the 12th Five-Year Plan.

An experiment in improving the salaries of designers and technologists has been under way in five large Leningrad associations since July 1983. The initial results prove that the new economic conditions are stimulating labor activeness in the collectives. Although a considerable number of workers have been released, all production assignments were met on or ahead of schedule on a high quality level.

Isolated shortcomings became apparent in the course of the experiment and the production collectives are working persistently for their elimination. Nevertheless, it has already become clear that such innovations must become more widespread. Currently, together with the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab, the respective ministries and departments are taking additional steps to ensure the success of the other experiment: increasing the rights and responsibilities of enterprises in the heavy machine building and electrical engineering industries for end results of economic activities. If the results of these efforts are positive this experience will be extensively disseminated throughout the country's national economy.

The initiative of dozens of leading collectives in the country, which was mentioned at the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum, of overfulfilling planned labor productivity assignments by one percent and reducing production costs by an additional 0.5 percent, will be a major contribution to the implementation of the 1984 and five-year plans.

The great importance of this initiative is predetermined by the fact that, given the acute shortage of manpower in Leningrad and its oblast, increasing labor productivity by one percent equals the employment of 20,000 workers in material production. Furthermore, reducing production costs will enable us to improve the most important quality indicators of enterprises and better to harness unused reserves.

The organization of the socialist competition among the labor collectives is being restructured in accordance with the party's additional plan assignment. This will enable us to take a new step in radically improving labor productivity and making fuller use of reserves for the overfulfillment of the 1984 and the five-year plans.

The basic directions for the further dynamic growth of our economy and the solution of the most important social problems through the year 2005 are being formulated today on the basis of the experience acquired in planning the comprehensive economic development of Leningrad and its oblast. Carefully checking its plans against the course charted by the CPSU, the oblast party committee is seeing to it that the strategic problems of the national economy,

based on the stipulations and conclusions contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech at the December Central Committee Plenum, are not ignored. A number of vast comprehensive target programs for the solution of key national problems are being formulated as part of the basic directions for the long-term economic and social development of Leningrad and its oblast.

### III

The Soviet people, including every Leningrader, who are reexperiencing the happiness of the victory won 40 years ago at Leningrad, profoundly believe that mankind must not allow the outbreak of a new world war.

However, today, almost 4 decades after the defeat of fascism, the forces of reaction and aggression and international imperialism headed by the United States are doing everything possible to disturb the existing strategic balance of power and are creating a real danger of leading the world into the abyss of thermonuclear catastrophe. The deployment of the new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the promotion of an increasing number of new conflicts in various parts of the globe and the undeclared war waged on sovereign and independent countries are merely some of the features of the policy of the aggressive forces, concealed behind fabrications about a "Soviet military threat," while actually operating from the positions of militarism, heavy pressure and international piracy.

These days, angrily condemning the militaristic policy of the United States and its NATO allies, the people of Leningrad, who lost during the blockade more lives than did the United States and England combined during the entire World War II, add their protest against the deadly arms race and the militaristic aspirations of imperialism to that of the entire Soviet people and all peaceful people on earth.

In their thousands-strong antiwar demonstrations, meetings and gatherings, the people of Leningrad express their total support and approval of the declaration of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and the practical steps and measures taken by the communist party and the Soviet state to strengthen the defense capability of our country and to ensure the safety of the USSR and its allies.

The stern manly words "No one is forgotten and nothing is forgotten" are engraved on the memorial monument in the Piskarevskiy cemetery where hundreds of thousands of Leningraders, who died during the blockade, are buried. This is a remembrance and a stern warning by the Soviet people to those who are willing today to forget the monstrous fascist crime and to exonerate those who, raising the rotting fascist flags, are planning a "crusade" against the USSR and, in their anti-Soviet madness, are nurturing the doomed plan of "dumping communism on the ash heap of history." It would be useful for these new-fangled "crusaders" to remember the lessons of World War II.

Like all Soviet people, the people of Leningrad well know that, starting with Lenin's Decree on Peace, the communist party and the Soviet state have invariably followed a course of protecting the gains of the October Revolution from any encroachment and are firmly defending peace. They are convinced

that this is the most reliable prerequisite for our deep confidence in the future and our inflexible faith in the triumph of the communist ideals.

This is convincingly confirmed by the recently passed USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State." This is clearly seen in the meetings of labor collectives, which are being held everywhere, at which the best sons and daughters of the fatherland are being nominated for deputies to the supreme organ of the country's people's regime.

As they advance toward the important political event -- the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet --, the Leningraders are trying to make 1984 a year of highly productive shock labor and to achieve new successes in the all-union socialist competition and the active struggle for overfulfilling the 11th Five-Year Plan.

In the days of the 60th anniversary of naming the city after Lenin and the 40th anniversary of the total lifting of the enemy siege, the party members and working people in the hero city of Leningrad and order-bearing Leningrad Oblast, who fully and totally approve the Leninist course of the CPSU, assure the party's Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, that they will dedicate all their strength and energy to strengthening the economic and defense power of our socialist homeland and the implementation of the immortal Leninist ideals.

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CSO: 1802/8

## CUBA -- A FREE TERRITORY IN AMERICA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 1984 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)  
pp 112-119

[Article by Cuban journalists. Published simultaneously with CUBA SOCIALISTA, the journal of the CP of Cuba Central Committee]

[Text] Twenty-five years have passed since 1 January 1959, the day which marked not only the advent of the new year but the beginning of a new era in our country's history. That joyful and happy day will be remembered by the Cuban people forever. The tyranny collapsed and its mercenary army and the other repressive organs on which the old regime rested were routed under the crushing pressure of the revolutionary forces. Assisted by the unanimous support of the working class, which proclaimed a general strike, the heroic fighters of the rebel army won a total victory. However, it was still too early to lay down their arms: the young revolution had to be defended.

Everything that happened was like a wonderful dream. Before even recovering from the heavy nightmare, the people plunged into the intoxicating atmosphere of freedom. Possibly, few were those who could properly appreciate the true significance of that outstanding event not only in the history of Cuba or the American continent but the world revolutionary movement as well.

Our people were forced to shed a great deal of blood in their struggle for freedom. The road to our national independence was thorny, marked by exploits and sacrifices, occasional failures and bitter defeats. In the end it was covered. The truly revolutionary movement which was born on Cuban soil and which drew its strength exclusively from the Cuban people destroyed an inequitable social system which was the result of more than 400 years of colonial plunder, shameful slavery, capitalist exploitation and cruel neocolonialist rule by American imperialism. The old world became part of the past on 1 January 1959. A new world was born in Cuba, which became the first free territory in America.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, who reached Havana after a triumphal tour of the country, warned the people of the expected difficulties. "We are living in a decisive moment in our history," he said. "The tyranny has fallen. Our joy is great. Nevertheless, a great deal remains to be done. We do not delude ourselves by thinking that everything in the future will be simple. Even greater hardships may await us."

After destroying the bloody regime and its cruel instruments of power, and after uprooting the intrigues, corruption and other vices of the old system, which had a ruinous impact on the country, our people met quite soon, face to face, their main enemy: U.S. imperialism.

Our revolution's very first, absolutely necessary and just step was the exemplary punishment of the executioners and murderers, who had drowned the country in blood, caused a sharp reaction in American imperialism and its propaganda machine. The U.S. imperialists indicated that they had no intention of even tolerating a national liberation revolution 90 miles off their shores.

The United States immediately became a safe haven for the former executioners and counterrevolutionaries. After the first radical law was passed by our country, a law entirely consistent with the national interest -- the 17 May 1959 Agrarian Reform Law -- Washington began to take steps to strangle the Cuban revolution, clearly fearing the influence which it was beginning to exert on the oppressed peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The American imperialists had always underrated our people and overrated their own power. It seemed incredible to them that a small and poor country such as ours could rebel against their domination and choose an independent path of development, for with the exception of Puerto Rico Cuba had always been the country most dependent on the United States in the entire Western Hemisphere. In 1898 the imperialists had succeeded in turning our island into a neocolony with the help of armed intervention. Applying all kinds of economic, political, military, cultural and ideological levers, they tried to perpetuate their rule and gradually to weaken and, eventually, totally eliminate the national self-awareness of the Cuban people.

The revolution undermined the very foundations of this domination by destroying the bourgeois-land owning state, its political system and its mercenary army. However, other factors were still at work and, in the opinion of the powers in Washington, any one of them would have sufficed to bring the Cuban people down on its knees and eliminate its revolutionary gains. Thus, at that time the Cuban economy was an appendix to that of the United States. On the other hand, as a result of American penetration into the areas of culture, the mass information media, the educational system and ideology, our society was infected by anticommunist prejudices and reactionary ideas. Had such factors proved insufficient to put an end to the revolution the path of armed intervention remained open. It could be a counterrevolutionary mutiny organized from the outside, an invasion similar to that of Guatemala in 1954 or even a direct U.S. armed forces intervention.

However, the imperialists underestimated the ability of the Cuban people to resist and their patriotic and revolutionary spirit. They also failed to consider the radical changes in the ratio of forces which were taking place in the world arena at that time and, above all, the force of the international solidarity among working people.

In answer to the threats made by the U.S. government, the Soviet Union proclaimed its solidarity with Cuba. Its aid made a decisive contribution to

the fact that our revolution stood its grounds. A proper answer was given to all the hostile steps taken by imperialism, such as stopping fuel shipments and credits, initially reducing and subsequently totally eliminating the quotas for the purchase of Cuban sugar and gradual cessation of trade to the point of mounting a total economic blockade of our country. Bandit groups, the organization of internal conspiracies, sabotage, subversions and acts of terrorism were no help, for the armed and organized people vigilantly protected their gains. And when the invasion by mercenaries took place at the Bay of Pigs the enemy was stopped and routed in no more than 72 hours because our rebel army, our people's militia, and our workers and peasants were armed not only with courage but also with weapons which had been given to us at the proper time by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for defending our revolutionary fatherland.

Within a short historical period the Cuban revolution was able to resolve problems of tremendous importance. The age-old legacy of prejudices, lies and ignorance vanished into the past.

In the course of the mortal struggle which the Cuban people waged against their powerful enemies, each act of imperialist aggression offered a reason for taking increasingly deeper and radical steps. The Cuban revolutionary process gathered strength. After swiftly resolving problems of a national liberation, democratic and anti-imperialist nature, the Cuban revolution became socialist. The closing down of the large capitalist enterprises followed the liquidation of landed estates and Yankee monopolies, and the exploitation of man by man was virtually eliminated in our country.

The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin enriched those of Marti, Maseo, Gomez and other heroes of our fatherland. The feeling of internationalism was added to the traditional patriotism of the Cuban people, and Cuba, the last country on the continent to abolish slavery and to gain its independence, became the vanguard in this part of the world by becoming the first socialist country in America.

Therefore, the victory of the Cuban revolution on 1 January 1959 opened the way to the most profound historical change in the life of the American continent since the wars of liberation from European colonialism.

For the past 25 years seven Yankee administrations have been unsuccessfully breaking their teeth on the tough nut of the Cuban revolution. The criminal economic blockade imposed by the United States has lasted nearly a quarter of a century. It can be said that every single tool in the imperialist arsenal has been used against Cuba during that time with the exception of direct armed aggression. However, no single American government has dared plunge into such a costly adventure the consequences of which would be unpredictable.

During those years, scorning all legal and moral norms, the leaders and official institutions in the United States, a country which likes to boast of its civilized nature, formulated dozens of plans for attempts on the lives of Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution; organized subversions and other monstrous acts; planned and prepared the Bay of Pigs invasion; armed the criminals who blew up a Cuban airplane in Barbados and used disease and epidemic agents to harm our economy and disturb normal life in the country.

Our people have had no breathing spell during these difficult and heroic 25 years. The long list of their casualties begins with the names of those who died in the hands of the counterrevolutionaries in 1959 and ends with those of the great builders-internationalists who lost their lives in Grenada defending their principles, at the start of the American aggression. Year after year our industrious and dedicated people have been forced to sacrifice their sons. However, nothing has been able to make them retreat or surrender.

The struggle tempered us, raised us in a Spartan spirit and taught us not to fear difficulties. As a revolutionary people we are fully aware of our duty and responsibility during this exceptionally difficult time in history.

Although besieged and continuously provoked, the Cubans did not lock themselves inside the small egotistical world of their needs and problems. While working for the development and well-being of Cuba, we extended our hand to all mankind and did not remove ourselves from the solution of its main problems and from the struggle for the happiness and progress of other fraternal peoples.

Today, 25 years after the January victory, Cuba is marching in the world holding its head high, waving the banner of internationalism as a symbol of the future. We are an indivisible part of the fraternal commonwealth of socialist countries rallied around the Soviet Union, our devoted comrade-in-arms and friend.

We are a structural part of the world revolutionary and nonaligned movements and of all forces of independence and progress fighting for peace, the liberation of the peoples, economic development and social justice and opposing imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and other shameful manifestations of oppression and exploitation.

In the course of putting the principles of internationalism to practical use we have become stronger. Our construction workers, physicians, nurses, teachers and members of many other professional groups are effectively helping more than 30 countries. We are proud of having made a decisive contribution to the military victories won by the peoples of countries such as Angola and Ethiopia. Ours were manifestations of true selflessness and heroism. That is how the great combat traditions are multiplied, and if today our people are ready to fulfill their international mission and make all sacrifices for the sake of another fraternal nation they will be able to accomplish even greater exploits should American imperialism decide to mount an aggression against our fatherland! The Cuban people, who have marched in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle and victories for the past 25 years are, in turn, the most outstanding offspring of the revolution, worthy of admiration.

As we celebrate the great anniversary, we note with deep satisfaction that we have achieved great sociopolitical successes which guarantee the country's progress toward socialism and communism. The Communist Party of Cuba is the main guarantee of this. It is an organized Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the leading and guiding force of the people, closely linked to the masses and rallying within its ranks the best representatives of the working class and other physical and intellectual workers. Together with it, and mobilizing the

inexhaustible energy of our people are the Young Communist League and the other influential mass organizations: trade union, women, secondary and higher school student, Pioneer and many others.

Observance of socialist law and order, greatest respect for the rights of the individual and the citizen, an atmosphere of calm and stability and national unity, based on common principles and ideals, are what advantageously distinguishes today Cuban society from any other on the American continent.

Our revolutionary armed forces and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are the pride of the revolution. They are a part of the flesh of the people and a reliable shield protecting the fatherland and socialism. The features which are today inherent in our soldiers are high combat readiness and tactical skills.

Our young people and children, who are the country's present and future, are being raised as a worthy replacement of the present generation of revolutionaries. We are confident that they will grow up as firm, daring and able builders of a better future.

The Cuban revolution has scored tremendous economic and social achievements over the past 25 years. Centuries of illiteracy, shameful racial discrimination, poverty and vices such as prostitution, gambling, drug addiction and the degradation of the individual have vanished from Cuba forever within such a historically short time. Dignity, honor and respect for the laws have become inalienable features of all citizens in our homeland.

Unemployment, the sinister "dead seasons," despair and the unrestrained plundering of the working people by moneybags are now considered part of a distant past.

Naturally, our society still faces many difficulties, such as the resolving the housing problem. However, every Cuban considers himself the master of the country's entire resources. He knows that he is working for himself and society, that he will never be unemployed and left at the mercy of fate, and that gradually, as our material and technical base develops, as labor productivity increases and as the economy becomes more efficient we shall build and create everything we need.

Despite all the efforts of imperialism to hinder our progress and despite the limited nature of our material resources and some errors which were made under certain circumstances in the course of building socialism, Cuba's successes have been tremendous over the past 25 years.

For example, a profound technical revolution is taking place in agriculture, as illustrated by the fact that the country's fleet of tractors increased from 9,000 in 1958 to 80,000 in 1982.

Today 60 percent of the sugar cane harvest is mechanized instead of resorting to exhausting manual labor as before the revolution. The loading and hauling of the cane and the main processing operations have become fully mechanized. The same applies to the loading of the sugar at the country's ports.



The use of fertilizers has increased tenfold and that of pesticides has quadrupled over the past 25 years. Last year agriculture used about 7,000 tons of herbicides as compared to none before the revolution. Compared to 1958 the capacity of water reservoirs has increased by a factor of 125 and areas under irrigation have been expanded considerably.

The sugar industry -- the main national economic sector -- is characterized today by high and stable sugar cane crops and a steady increase in labor productivity and production efficiency despite some difficulties caused by cane diseases and poor weather conditions during some years.

Rice production, which more than doubled since the revolution, has been fully mechanized and average rice yields per hectare have nearly doubled. Citrus fruit growing has increased by a factor of seven. Vegetable production has more than doubled over the past 20 years. Compared to 1960 milk production has tripled. Egg production totalled 2.4 million in 1982, or an increase by a factor of more than 11 compared to 1960. The amount of fish caught exceeded the 1958 level by a factor of nine.

More than 50 percent of the land belonging to the peasants is already in agricultural production cooperatives which have achieved encouraging results.

In the past 30 years electric power generating facilities have increased by a factor of more than 12 and the number of households using electric power has tripled. Compared to 1953 the number of the country's power transmission cables has increased by a factor of 5.5.

Nickel and cobalt production rose from 17,900 tons in 1958 to 41,000 tons in 1982. It will increase further as a result of new capital investments.

Petroleum refining increased from 3.6 million tons in 1958 to 6.5 million tons in 1982. Compared to 1958 chemical fertilizer production increased by a factor of almost seven. Impressive successes have been achieved in the production of paper, cardboard and glass.

Our machine building, which started virtually from scratch, has today more than 180 enterprises. They include plants for electronic equipment and power tools and casting and metal processing enterprises. It is noteworthy that today Cuba is able to design and build complete sugar refineries on its own. Sixty percent of their equipment is domestically manufactured.

As a result of production reorganization and concentration in the light industry and additional capital invested in that sector, capacities were developed which ensured the production of clothing worth 772 million pesos in 1982, which is more than double the 1960 level. The volume of output of leather-shoe enterprises increased by a factor of 2.6.

The substantial reorganization of the food industry affected the technical facilities of enterprises and improvements in production and hygiene conditions. This drastically increased the production of food items, such as pasteurized milk, wheat flour, pasta goods, cheese, yoghurt, ice cream, canned fruits and vegetables and confectionary goods.

Construction increased by a factor of 8 compared to 1958. Today the country builds as much in 45 days as it did in 1 year before the revolution. Cement production has increased by a factor of seven and the production of other construction materials has increased considerably.

The network of automotive roads has tripled since the revolution. Today it totals 34,000 kilometers, 510 of which are modern multiple-lane highways. Transportation and communications, including international channels, have greatly developed since the revolution. The fleet of transportation vehicles has been updated and the volume of haulage has increased.

All in all, 1,100 new enterprises were built in the country over the last 25 years. Particular attention was paid to the most backward areas which suffered from unemployment in the past.

Women, who were excluded from social life before the revolution, are actively at work today in industry and consumer services. They account for 36 percent of the country's entire labor force and for 53 percent of all specialists with secondary specialized or higher training. These figures eloquently prove the efforts of the revolution aimed at the full emancipation of women.

Compared to the prerevolutionary period expenditures for social benefits (pensions, aid and other payments) have increased by a factor of more than 30. Cuba is justifiably proud of having the most developed health care system on the continent. Our country is even ahead of the United States in some indicators in this area. Many diseases which previously caused thousands of deaths every year (the mortality rate was particularly high among children and the poor) have been totally eradicated or else have become very rare. Modern hospitals and polyclinics were built in the various provinces and parts of the country. The number of graduates of higher and secondary medical schools is increasing. Cuba, which lost more than one half of its 6,000 physicians during the first years of the revolution as a result of criminal imperialist policy, has today some 19,000 highly skilled specialist physicians. By the year 2000 the number of physicians in our country will reach 65,000.

Cuba's accomplishments in the field of education are equally impressive. From a country with high illiteracy, in which hundreds of thousands of children were deprived of the possibility of attending school or who could, in the best of cases, attend school for 1 or 2 years, has become a country in which virtually all school-age children go to school. Our working people have reached a minimum level of sixth-grade education and the current task is to reach universal nine-grade training. The following indicator convincingly attests to the successes achieved in the development of education in our country: in 25 years education allocations have increased by a factor of 18. During the 1959/60 school year the country had only three universities with 25,000 students. Today it has 42 higher educational institutions attended by more than 200,000 students, almost half of them holding jobs.

These and many other achievements of the revolution become particularly clear when compared to the difficult situation of many developing countries which have fallen victim to the grave economic crisis in the capitalist world. Our country's successes eloquently prove that the difficulties experienced by the majority of mankind can be successfully surmounted only under socialism.

The determination, high moral and combative spirit and labor enthusiasm of the Cuban people prove that the course followed in the struggle for socialism is irreversible. With every passing day this struggle is becoming increasingly successful and the forces of socialism increasingly invincible. This is guaranteed by absolute loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the close and constant ties between the party and the masses.

Stormy clouds are once again gathering on the horizon. American imperialism is aggravating the world situation to its limit, increasing the danger of war. All indications are that now, after its criminal aggression against Grenada, the administration in Washington intends to start a new militaristic adventure in Central America. Our country is the target of ceaseless threats. Nevertheless, the experience of the past 25 years makes us confident that we have raised the type of people and created the type of party and armed forces which no enemy, regardless of his power, would be able to rout, frighten or defeat.

As Comrade Fidel Castro justifiably pointed out in his speech at the funeral meeting held in memory of the Cuban citizens who fell in the uneven battle against the American aggressors in Grenada, "Our country may be wiped off the face of the earth but will never be conquered and subjugated!"

History, common sense and morality are on our side. We represent the progressive forces of mankind and are defending the rights of nations from the barbarians who would prefer the doom of mankind rather than accept the inevitable doom of their inequitable, reactionary and exploitive system.

Brimming with resolve and optimism, we are looking at the future with confidence. Our difficulties are great but our resolve to surmount them is even greater. We shall continue to build our homeland and will be ready to defend it. A people with such a glorious history and who has honorably walked this 25-year long road deserves victory. During this quarter of a century we gained invaluable experience and are as much if not more enthusiastic as when we began our struggle. Today, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the revolution, what Fidel Castro said about the Cuban internationalists who died in Grenada applies to our entire people: "There is no power, weapon or force which could defeat the patriotism, internationalism and feelings of human brotherhood and communist conscientiousness which these people embodied!"

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CS0: 1802/8

## ACT OF IMPERIAL IGNORANCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)  
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[Article by N. Ivanov]

[Text] The United States "greeted" the international community on the occasion of the new year 1984 quite originally. On New Year's eve the American President announced the United States' decision to withdraw from UNESCO -- the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which had earned universal respect for its noble activities aimed at ensuring peace and mutual understanding among nations, its tireless struggle against racism, apartheid and instigation of war and its tremendous contribution to the problem of eliminating imperialist domination over the mass information media of the young liberated countries.

Currently UNESCO has 161 member states. Its objectives are "to help the cause of peace and security and to promote cooperation among countries through education, science and culture." This precisely is the line followed by the organization in its annual holding of as many as 200 symposiums, conferences and meetings among people of culture and scientists from various countries and its publication of 26 periodicals, the best known among which is the UNESCO COURIER, published in 25 different languages.

What did this prestigious organization do to anger the administration in Washington? Did it show disrespect for American culture? No! the UNESCO COURIER and other publications have printed the works of and articles about Hemingway, Faulkner and Steinbeck and reported the successes achieved by American scientists. UNESCO has also suitably honored outstanding Americans, such as Jefferson, Franklin, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Martin Luther King, who have left noticeable traces in world history.

Did the White House believe that UNESCO was interfering in U.S. domestic affairs? No such thing. For example, UNESCO has never criticized the attitude of the American powerful rich toward the blacks and the Indians, although, speaking frankly, the topic of racial discrimination in the United States could have become one of serious discussion. Nor did it discuss the pitiful state of education in the richest country in the capitalist world, although events in this area take sometimes a scandalous turn. For example, the results of a survey conducted 1 month ago in Los Angeles indicated that

more than 40 percent of high school students in the city were forced to drop out for financial reasons and find jobs in order to help their families, providing, naturally, that they were lucky to find employment. In areas in which the majority of the population consists of minorities -- blacks, Mexicans, Indians and Chinese -- 70 percent of all students are unable to complete their studies and earn a secondary school diploma. This situation prevails not only in Reagan's favorite southern California. In the United States every year almost 1 million young people become school dropouts. On a national average, about one third of all 17-year old are not secondary-school graduates and, according to U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 23 million people, i.e. 20 percent of the adult population, "cannot read and write on a level needed to cope with the basic requirements of daily life."

According to the DALLAS TIMES-HERALD, which sponsored a test of sixth-grade students in mathematics, natural science and geography in the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Japan and some other countries, the American students were last among their coevals in the other developed capitalist countries. For example, it turned out that the American students were half as good as the Japanese in performing similar mathematical operations. They were no better in Geography: nearly 20 percent of the students in Dallas (Texas) were unable to point out on a map...the United States.

At atmosphere of violence and crime prevails in the schools. The Justice Department has announced the opening of a national school safety center. In his first radio address to the country for the new year, on 7 January, even Reagan was forced to admit that "Sad though it may be, many schools in the country are hardly temples of learning, where lessons are taught in good will, courtesy and good sense."

The crisis in the American educational system is worsened by the Draconian cuts made in the federal and local social budgets while expenditures for the arms race are growing astronomically. Incidentally, having imposed on its NATO partners increases in their military budgets, the White House is leading the Western European countries down the same path. Crises in education are appearing wherever the interests of the military departments and the arms manufacturers are placed above those of the people's education and culture.

But UNESCO, we repeat, has not interfered in American affairs or tried to "insult" the administration in the White House. Why, nevertheless, has it felt insulted? Three official charges have been made.

First, the United States is depressed (and does not conceal the fact) by the fact that UNESCO opposes South Africa's apartheid and Israeli expansionism and racism. But then, as we know, it has opposed such anti-humane phenomena from its very founding in 1946. The entire difference is that at that time the West played a leading role in the organization and criticism could be presented in a harmless manner. Starting with the end of the 1960s, however, when the positions of the young liberated and the socialist countries within the organization strengthened considerably, opposition to apartheid and racism became firmer. The members of UNESCO began to name openly the culprit and

inspirer of such shameful phenomena of our time -- imperialism -- which fed on and benefited from racial prejudice and discrimination.

It was as of then that the United States began to consider as "socially unfair" the fact that although it was contributing one quarter of UNESCO's budget the majority within it was ignoring its views. Reagan began to look on UNESCO as nothing but a "red organization."

The second reason for the rabidly hostile attitude of the United States toward UNESCO was the latter's total support of the struggle waged by the nonaligned countries for a "new international information order." UNESCO experts estimated that today the flow of news from the Western to the liberated countries, which account for two-thirds of the earth's population, was a hundred times greater than the flow in the opposite direction. Misleadingly described as the "free flow of information," it involved in the imperialist whirlpool of lies and ideological machinations the virtually entire arsenal of mass information media in the nonsocialist world and presented the complex picture of contemporary political life in a light suitable to the United States. To this day such propaganda clears the way for imperialist policy, justifying its crimes and trying to give it some sort of respectability. In the course of these efforts the concepts of good and evil and progress and regress seem to switch places. In the case of El Salvador, patriots are described as "terrorists;" the struggle for liberation becomes "a bloody war;" murderers become a "public force;" fascists are described as "the government;" and the American interventionists become "advisers."

Essentially, the entire nonsocialist world turns out to be the target of ideological aggression on the part of American imperialism. This is actively opposed by UNESCO, which supports with equal persistence and consistency the originality of national cultures and the preservation of the monuments of antiquity and traditions. Actually, even the NATO allies of the United States fear what is described today as "information imperialism" and "spiritual colonialism." France and Canada, for instance, have frequently objected to American domination of culture and information. That is why UNESCO's efforts in defense of world culture enjoy the widest possible support.

The third accusation sounds typically American: UNESCO and those who vote against the United States and the other Western countries at its sessions, the WASHINGTON POST wrote (another lie) "are less interested in the implementation of programs useful to all mankind than in starting ideological disputes." Clearly, in order to make them "change their mind" Washington decided to punish the international organization through the dollar, i.e. to stop making payments to that organization. The challenge to international public opinion was hurled in an open, mercenary minded and cynical way. This makes Washington resemble an intoxicated reveller convinced that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Having given the three reasons for its discontent, however, Washington omits mentioning the principal one: in recent years Washington and its Western partners have been factually isolated in UNESCO voting and discussions of all the most important problems of our time. Washington realized that it cannot turn back the trends gathering strength in that international organization.

Reagan's latest coarse escapade is fully in line with his favored "power diplomacy." Lebanon is the Western threat to the national liberation movements in the Middle East and Asia. Grenada -- a cruel repeat of the worst colonial times -- is a lesson in American imperialism to the peoples of Latin America. The deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles in Western Europe -- the nuclear mining of the cultural heritage of mankind -- is an unceremonious transformation of allies into hostages. Finally, we have the blackmail of withdrawal from UNESCO. It is a rude shout at the United Nations and a "model" for behavior at the Stockholm conference on measures for strengthening trust and security and disarmament in Europe. Showing up behind all this is a primitivism in thinking and an obscurantism typical of the Reagan administration, which is suffering from grandomania, and an attempt to impose on one and all its own ideas about the world.

It is not astonishing that commonsensical politicians, even in the United States itself, disapprove of this course. The sky will not fall if the United States leaves UNESCO: such is the stand taken by the overwhelming majority of countries within that organization. They firmly believe that UNESCO has fulfilled and will continue to fulfill its noble mission entirely according to its charter and that it will allow no one to manipulate it.

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JOURNAL'S MAIL: JULY-DECEMBER 1983

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84)  
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[Text] During that period KOMMUNIST received 944 pieces of correspondence, including 247 articles, essays, reviews and notes; 208 responses to the journal's publications; 195 questions, suggestions and wishes submitted to the editors; and 294 petitions and complaints.

The nature of the editorial mail during the second half of the year was largely influenced by the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the passing of the Law on Labor Collectives and a number of Central Committee decrees aimed at the further development of socialist democracy, improving economic management, strengthening the discipline and developing the initiative and the labor and social activeness of the Soviet people. It was to be expected in this connection that our voluntary correspondents would treat the problems of our economy, science and culture and upgrading the efficiency of our political education work in the spirit of the June plenum as an interrelated and interdependent process in which everything matters: the organizational side of the matter and the economic, social, moral and psychological aspects, the new theories and the efficient application of the achievements of science and progressive experience.

"Development of Democratic Principles in Production Management" was the title of the article by Dr of Juridical Sciences Ye. Torkanovskiy, published in the journal (No 8, 1983), which drew the attention of many scientific and practical workers. The main thought expressed in the letters received on this subject was that life convincingly proves that the practical implementation by our party of Lenin's instruction on the need to ensure the extensive participation of all working people in management assumes particular importance today and is becoming an important structural part of the historical process of perfecting developed socialism.

The responses sent by S. Matveyeva, Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. Temnyy (Brezhnev) UkSSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V. Mamutov, D. Terekova (Donetsk) professors V. Gaga (Tomsk) and N. Pil'guy (Odessa), candidates of economic sciences D. Bogin and A. Radziyevskiy (Kiev) and others prove that the readers agree with the author's description of the contemporary trends in the development of democracy in industry. They emphasize that the most efficient way to achieve it is with the help of an efficiently developed



economic mechanism and providing that the existing conditions for planning, cost accounting, socialist competition and others contribute to the close and active involvement of the labor collective and its individual members in the management process.

In the KamAZ, where great attention is being paid to such problems, S. Matveyeva and Yu. Temnyy report, the overwhelming majority of working people participate in production management. All important problems in the association are revolved by the standing plant and shop conferences and brigade councils. The work of the people's control and voluntary cadre departments is well organized. Professor V. Gaga describes the interesting experience of the construction workers at the Sayano-Shushen GES, which calls for the comprehensive assessment of the results of the workers' activities in accordance with the degree of their creative, labor and social activeness and participation in management. In citing the experience of oblast enterprises, Docent V. Vaysburg (Kuybyshev) writes that today eliminating the shortcomings in the development of the brigade form of labor organization and incentive in industry is of great importance. It is important for the brigade size to be optimal, in accordance with specific production conditions, and for the brigades to have broad rights in resolving problems of intrabrigade planning and cost accounting and use of the so-called labor participation coefficient.

Although expressing their satisfaction with the increased creative initiative of the masses, the authors of the letters deem necessary the involvement in management of still insufficiently active strata, for no one should remain outside this process.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Volkonskiy, Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Kikot' (Moscow) and other readers emphasize that the development of democratic principles in socialist economic management should be taking place not only within labor collectives. It is important for the decisions made on all levels of national economic management maximally to reflect the desires of the working people. They must be economically and socially substantiated and timely. The strengthening of social homogeneity through the elimination of class differences and the increased similarity between cooperative and social organization property and state (whole people) property also means an increased similarity and enrichment of the means and methods used in the participation of the working people in management.

The readers actively responded to the article "On a Political Approach to the Economy," by P. Ignatovskiy, which was published by the journal as a basis for discussion (No 12, 1983). Some of them supported the basic stipulations presented in the article while others disputed some of them; counterarguments were presented and suggestions were made. Considering the great response to this article, the editors intend to present a special survey in which the most typical viewpoints will be reflected and discussed.

In his letter, Prof R. Gostrem, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences (Kaliningrad), raises the idea of "effectivization" of scientific and technical and social progress, which he relates to the party's task of planned and all-round advancement of developed socialism. In his definition, "effectivization" is a process of execution of a set of steps taken in order

to ensure the functioning of something with higher returns, in the course of which the efficiency of the activities of modern society in the production and social areas is improved as a result of optimal planning and creating conditions for the efficient implementation of a coordinated set of measures from start to actual finish. "The future process of improving the efficiency of power resources," R. Gostrem writes, "is oriented toward thermonuclear reaction and the direct conversion of solar radiation to electric power to meet the needs of our planet." In raising the questions of environmental protection and civilization on earth, the author draws attention to the advantages of developing the world's oceans.

The journal's readers actively responded to the requirement formulated at the June plenum of energizing the struggle for strengthening organization and responsibility. A. Tkachenko, candidate of economic sciences (Zaporozhe), emphasizes that at the present stage the concept of labor discipline indicates the active and conscious participation of every one in the collective struggle for increasing production efficiency and that its strengthening requires no additional capital investments yet yields tangible and immediate returns. He proves this with the example of the Zaporozhtransformator Production Association. It has a stable, united and disciplined collective and valuable experience in economic management and organizational and educational work. The main attention here is focused on content and quality and the study and analysis of the people's suggestions, opinions and demands, with an emphasis on the primary levels -- sectors, shifts and brigades. Party and worker meetings, participation in political and economic training and attendance of communist labor schools educate workers and specialists in a spirit of high individual responsibility for end labor results. Zaporozhtransformator looks upon the implementation of planned assignments not only in terms of the volume of sales but in meeting mandatory variety requirements and promptly implementing contractual obligations not merely as a technological and production process but as an important area of ideological influence. Here failure to keep one's word to related enterprises and labor collectives in fraternal republics is considered a strictly moral question.

I. Bratishchev, candidate of economic sciences (Rostov-on-the-Don), concentrates on developing in the working people a communist attitude toward their obligations and the development of self-discipline, "organically related to the development of the people's sociopolitical activeness and economy-oriented thinking." In his view, "the need to improve the wage method and to upgrade the moral and material responsibility of the workers for the sensible and economical utilization of reserves and the implementation of the plans for economic and social development as a whole rather than for individual items, is becoming increasingly relevant." The author includes among the most important factors in strengthening the discipline intensified control over the measures of labor and consumption and stresses the need to correlate the actual satisfaction of the needs of the individual with his labor efforts.

The readers supported, in the words of Muscovite G. Kuvitanov, the "problem-raising, practical and, above all, topical" article by D. Velikanov "Automotive Transportation: Further Development Tasks" (No 15, 1983). Naturally, it is difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to consider all aspects of one problem or another in a journal article, for which reason the letter writers

expand it by submitting constructive suggestions. Thus, for instance, N. Kondrashov, from Orsk, discusses a question not treated in the article, such as setting up an organization for vehicle repairs, aimed at upgrading the efficiency with which transport facilities are used. He recalls that as early as June 1981 V. Kolomnikov, deputy minister of automotive industry, wrote in TRUD that "On the basis of the interests of the state, unquestionably equipment repairs must be made by the manufacturers." To this effect "all technical service stations and centers must be managed by the Ministry of Automotive Industry." N. Kondrashov wonders why all of this remains in words only while the actual situation remains unchanged. The ministry is oriented toward the organization of such repairs exclusively by automotive plants and some of their branches, which is entirely inadequate.

G. Kuvitanov is puzzled by the fact that, although discussing the economical nature of automotive transportation as related to the new vehicle models, the author of the article makes no mention of tires. G. Kuvitanov cites impressive figures which characterize outlays of scarce materials used in their manufacturing and the amounts of such materials frequently discarded after being used for no more than 30,000 kilometers and concludes that the problem of upgrading the quality of tires must be resolved without delay.

But how long would the new vehicles, their "shoes" above all, last, and could we hope for a substantial saving in fuels and lubricants if we ignore the roads? According to Dr of Technical Sciences I. Yevgen'yev, editor in chief of the journal AVTOMOBIL'NYE DOROGI, the yearly damage caused to the national economy as a result of roadlessness is some four billion rubles! "The view exists," he points out, "that assigning to the automotive transport ministries the functions of client and fund keeper for the construction, repair and maintenance of roads would eliminate many shortcomings." D. Velikanov calls for the creation of a union-republic ministry of automotive transportation and roads. "However, the activities of transportation and automotive workers are quite different in their nature! Many specialists and road resource managers believe that it would be more expedient to create a union-republic automotive roads ministry..." And so, who comes closer to the truth: the author of the article or his opponents? This question must be answered.

Many of the manuscripts received by the editors consider the economic and moral aspects of the development of private auxiliary plots. Thus, G. Shmelev, head of the agrarian problems sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, emphasizes that such farms, which participate alongside the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the creation of a nationwide stock of products needed by the country, meet to a large extent the needs of the rural population for food products, thus indirectly helping to increase the volume of marketable goods from public production. Under circumstances in which the intensive development of the economy demands ever higher outlays, the development of the auxiliary farms in a given area, allows the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to concentrate greater funds in the most important sectors.

Reader I. Voronin (Krasnodar) proceeds from the fact that the auxiliary plot, set on land which is the property of the nation in our country, provides the

Soviet citizens with goods grown with their own efforts. The point is "not only that this improves personal well-being, but also that a person harmoniously combines active efforts with recreation, mental with physical labor and social intercourse with privacy.... To the peasant the private plot is an extension of his home. To the urban resident it is like a second residence and to all it is additional space for the application and development of forces and creative capabilities...." He considers erroneous the existing view that the private plots are a vestige of petty private-ownership farming, a sort of hybrid of the private and the individual. The socialist nature of the private auxiliary plots cannot be changed by the fact that isolated unconscientious citizens, prey of the thirst for profits, use them for purposes of enrichment. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the gardens, poultry and cattle of the working people are part of our common wealth."

As was pointed out at the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum, conceptual clarity and methodological discipline of thought are mandatory prerequisites for the successful development of the social sciences. In this connection, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. Kazantsev (Moscow) emphasizes that in their articles in the journal (No 7, 1983), S. Dudel' and G. Sadovskiy "relevantly and accurately raise the question of the need to block attempts at promoting updated variants of metaphysical-idealistic confusion under the guise of developing dialectical materialism." The same thought is contained in the letters of Yu. Biglo, from Kharkov, and L. Yerichev, from Leningrad.

The readers rated positively V. Golobokov's article "Dialectics: Theoretical Legacy and Creative Search" (No 9, 1983) and broadened the discussion of a number of questions it raised. Thus, N. Slonov (Saratov) singles out two directions in science (including philosophy): the rational and the dialectic. He believes that the former is possible within dialectics itself. The term "rational logic" (rather than "formal") should emphasize the fact that "real thinking is not strictly formal even when formal logic is set as the ideal of thinking." According to him the formal-logical approach to science is a method developed and tried in the course of centuries for the accumulation of positive results of research and a reliable protection from speculations with science and superficial theoretical elaborations. Such an approach is essentially not oriented toward the presentation of the studied subject as a process, as the interconnection among all of its components (and its dynamics as a totality of conditions) essentially open to refinements and additions in the sense of discovering in the subject of ever new "facets." The author notes that rational logic also studies the objective dialectics of things: a process, connection, transition and even contradiction. In this sense it even invades the field of dialectical thinking. However, it extends to this dynamics (process) only as a sequence of different conditions: at one point the object may be in one place (condition); at another it may be elsewhere (in another condition), etc. The conversion itself from one condition to another may be considered and studied as a third independent object. A contradiction in thinking is permissible only as a transitional aspect and a clearly imperfect status, as an "antinomy-problem" which demands an immediate solution.

From the viewpoint of dialectical logic truth is not only the substitution of an imperfect picture of the object with a better one (more adequate, truer). Truth is a truth-process, i.e. the adequate reflection of a moving

(developing) object and is consequently itself a moving (developing) image of the object, accurate (relatively, naturally) at each moment of reflection. Therefore, in dialectical logic the concept as a form of motion is a process. It contains a contradiction resolved through the movement of thinking about the object, a real movement which resolves the objective contradiction. Today, N. Slonov believes, the rational approach to dialectics predominates. In the final account, however, it too leads to the assertion of dialectical thinking, for it is one of the necessary features of the latter.

The optimistic view that formal-logical thinking contributes to the assertion of dialectical thinking is opposed by Dr of Technical Sciences D. Tatiyev (Moscow). He believes that rational thinking is "alogical and by virtue of its very nature can never be conclusive. It is in a way 'eroded'." That is why, such thinking leads in the best of cases only to a simplified and superficial interpretation of dialectics, which does not allow us to conceive of development as a process.

A. Tsoglin (Saratov) joins in the concern expressed at the June plenum on the subject of the imperfection of scientific research in the social sciences. "There are all too many books and articles repeating familiar facts or dealing with insignificant and secondary topics. The social scientists should analyze profoundly all positive and negative trends in the development of our society, expose the obstacles on the path of its advancement and assist in the struggle against formalism and stereotypes in ideological work and in the education of the people..." In citing the activities of some oblast VUZs, the author notes that their party organizations "are still not properly influencing the content and scientific level of lectures and manuscripts on philosophy, political economy and scientific communism... Yet it is precisely these sciences which must shape to the greatest extent the outlook of the future specialists and educators of labor collectives."

These are the positions from which many readers responded to the article by R. Konyushaya "Marx's Great Contemporary. Chernyshevskiy, His Time and Revolutionary Cause" (No 13, 1983). In their letters scientists, teachers and post-graduate and undergraduate students note the importance and relevance of summing up the results of the accomplishments of domestic science in the study of the creative legacy and practical activities of the great revolutionary democrat and, above all, his attitude toward Marx and the latter's attitude toward him. "This," writes Candidate of Philosophical Sciences S. Vatsanayev (Moscow) enables the teacher to give the young people a better idea of the general laws of the development of the class struggle and to prove convincingly that the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia was an organic structural component of the global revolutionary movement." The article's insistence that the Russian social democratic movement had a very rich, heroic and instructive prehistory is fully supported by other readers as well. They emphasize (G. Ionova, Moscow) that our science has long needed an integral assessment of Chernyshevskiy's greatness and that the lack of such a principled assessment impoverished our views about him. We have looked at his ideas more than his practical revolutionary activities, as a result of which the very analysis of his views was limited and incomplete. As candidates of historical sciences F. Kochiyeva and Z. Mikhaleva note in their letter, "N. G. Chernyshevskiy's theoretical thinking and revolutionary activities are today

of both scientific and practical significance to social science teachers, propagandists and all workers on the ideological front." S. Shcheblygin, a post-graduate student at the chair of CPSU history of Moscow University Department of History, considers that it is necessary to acquaint more extensively the young people with the works of the revolutionary democrats and their personalities, so that the young generation can have the example of how to serve the homeland to the point of self-sacrifice for the sake of the ideals of freedom and justice."

Many readers -- scientists, VUZ and secondary-school teachers and parents -- address themselves to the subject of the forthcoming reform of general education and vocational schools. In their letters and articles, which were received by the editors even before the publication of the CPSU Central Committee draft, they discuss various aspects or the very core of the problem, argue in favor of their sometimes controversial suggestions and refer to specific and proven experience.

Thus, G. Kubrakov, honored teacher of the Kazakh SSR and principal of the Mamlyutka boarding school in North Kazakhstan Oblast, writes the following on the results of a long search for ways to improve educational work: "Our collective reorganized the work of the school on the basis of the 'Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School' and the 'Regulation on the Unified Labor School in the RSFSR,' drafted in its time by the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education, and A. S. Makarenko's experience." The author notes that his colleagues realized how right Makarenko was in proving the tremendous advantage of school detachments which bring together children of various ages, compared to ordinary grades. "This creates something like a family in which older students act as reliable assistants to the educators, watch over the younger children and assume responsibility for them not in words but in deeds. The isolation of the present primary collective -- the grade -- is eliminated and a general school collective is established in which traditions are stronger (for a detachment, unlike a grade, 'never vanishes'); more favorable conditions are created for the development of the children's independence and creative activeness."

G. Kubrakov further writes that as early as 17 years ago his school developed its own production facility, a farm on "its own" (rather than sovkhos, as in the past) land and a workshop. Practical experience confirmed that this "proved to be the best method for involving the children in work, in the course of which the main factor is not lost: a united collective which includes all educators, students, specialists and workers who are members of the same party, Komsomol or trade union organization, working on the basis of a single plan, bearing joint responsibility and providing unified management."

"The reform must assume a profound revolutionary and comprehensive scope, covering all levels, from the school to the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Education," the author believes. "Let us hope that this will be a radical restructuring of the entire public education system."

The heading of another manuscript received by the editors speaks for itself: "Productive Toil and Shaping of the Individual." Its author, Candidate of

Pedagogical Sciences K. Belenovskiy (Ulyanovsk), thinks that we must persistently develop in the students the habit of and love for productive socially necessary labor. "The Soviet school and pedagogy," the author writes, "pioneered new paths and had no examples and models to guide them. However, from the very beginning the understanding was that we must have labor schools and that training should be brought closer to life. Scholastic changes are based on the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics on the comprehensive development of the individual and the role played by socially useful activities in shaping the person. According to Marx, 'the early combination of productive labor with instruction is one of the most powerful means for the reorganization of contemporary society' (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 31). Lenin pointed out that '...Neither training and education without productive labor nor productive labor without parallel training and education could reach the level required by contemporary standards of technology and the level of scientific thought' ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 485). ...How topical this statement made decades ago sounds today". The author claims that our youth sometimes lacks the responsibility and sense of being competent workers rather than dependents and consumers, and regrets that the Soviet school has still not become a truly labor school and that the experience of outstanding Soviet educators, such as S. Shatskiy, A. Makarenko and V. Sukhomlinskiy is made little use of.

A. Logvinov (Chelyabinsk), an educator with 40 years experience, writes: "It is necessary to know and determine the material needs of the children and to develop in them a reasonable attitude toward such needs. Recurrences of philistinism, consumerism and lack of spirituality do not originate in childrens' circles but are instilled by the members of the senior generation. Some families are able to develop only a one-sided need to satisfy 'prestige' material needs in their scions but are unable to instill in the growing generation spiritual needs. Despite the great difficulties of family upbringing, the molding of a comprehensively developed individual begins precisely there, and its level is directly related to the spiritual and moral potential of the family. Public education as well faces the same tasks and no strict demarcation between the two is possible. They must reciprocally complement and enrich each-other."

"There is no type of human activity in our country," the writer goes on to say, "with such an inadequate 'scientific support' as public education today. Formalism in universal education is the greatest of evils. By promoting universal education at all cost its end result -- knowledge -- is ignored. Under the circumstances governed by 'percentilism' and strict work rules, the teacher has increasingly less time to work with the children..." The best qualities of the person as an individual are developed and strengthened through socially useful labor. This, according to A. Logvinov, is "an objective law, the foundation of all education; the main reason for the current gaps in education and the existence of 'problem' adolescents is the unwillingness to heed this law."

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Volkov (Moscow) suggests "a thorough study of curriculums in order to determine what percentage of the subjects taught in class is truly necessary and used in later life." In his view, such a study would make possible a painless curriculum reduction and thus strengthen

educational principles in class and extracurricular work. More time would be left for the study of subjects which make the person a citizen and enrich his spiritual world. "Later on a person could acquire greater knowledge of specialized scientific subjects which, incidentally, are quickly updated today, above all within the range set by the chosen type of work."

...Another letter mentions the use of A. S. Makarenko's legacy. Its author is V. Postnikov, an alumni of the Commune imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy and now member of the bureau of the Mararenko Section of the Central Council of the RSFSR Pedagogical Society: "Mararenko supported a bolshevik aggressive pedagogy which shapes the new Soviet person. In education Anton Semenovitch proceeded from the needs not only of the present but of the future communist society, needs dictated by the molding of active and initiative-minded public figures and collectivists... He created a united collective which produced material values and had an extensively developed self-management. He approached the problem of the interrelationship among society, the collective and the individual from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. He proved in practice the permanent meaning of labor and its greatest importance in the training and education process. Work with an industrial-financial plan, cost accounting, profit and wages and productive and collective work became the most efficient means of developing in the adolescents self-discipline and the ability to subordinate themselves and their behavior to the common interests."

In describing these and other aspects of the practical-science activities of his teacher, the author cautions against the "blind transposition" of Makarenko's legacy to the circumstances of the present. He believes that it is necessary to take into consideration the changes which have taken place in the country and in society over the past decades, the different level of development of the children and their different surroundings, for which reason Makarenko's methods and pedagogical experience must be used in a considered and flexible manner.

"The resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum prove once again that the leading role of the CPSU as the leading and guiding force in society has reached a higher level," writes Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Gribakin (Sverdlovsk). "No single person will remain indifferent to the party's appeal to work better, to strengthen the might of the country and to defend the purity of our ideas and principles. We have something to be proud of. However, we should not avoid mentioning that which concerns us and which hinders us in our progress and in surmounting difficulties, contradictions and negative phenomena in life." The author discusses "trends which could be described as the aspiration of individuals to raise above the mass of the population, and to put themselves above the laws of the country and the norms of communist morality."

A. Gribakin writes about "a certain percentage of economic managers and other officials" are linked through collective guarantees and the aspiration to become members of a social group having a rather distinct status. Such individuals, who only pretend to be working, try to use their official positions for self-seeking purposes, resort to fraud and string-pulling and sometimes enrich themselves at the expense of the state, cause tremendous material and moral harm, corrupt unstable people and create black marketeers,



parasites, bureaucrats and toadies... Furthermore, some senior managers are able to pass on to their relatives and their children their social privileges and social status through a variety of deceitful means." In calling for an active struggle against this phenomenon, the author emphasizes that "We must rally and unify our best forces and provide scope for the efforts of those for whom selfless service to the people is a daily norm of life."

Letters sent by veterans hold a special position in the editorial mail. Again and again they prove that the years of struggle and privations have not aged their souls but only strengthened their faith in the triumph of our ideals and the patriotism, internationalism and social optimism of the Soviet people. "How not to be proud of the fact that today's generation does not know the meaning of the exploitation of man by man and of unemployment!" writes P. Borukhovich, retired and presently chairman of the Council of Party, War and Labor Veterans at the coach section of the Kiev-Passenger Order of Lenin Southwestern Railroad. "Some young people may think as follows: Why the enthusiasm, for this is reality and that is how it should be. They have well understood the fact that they have the right to work, free education and medical care, that every one enjoys annual paid leave and can benefit from reduced-rate travel passes and other benefits, and accept all this as their due. Some of them know more about their rights than their obligations. They must be informed of the cost to the country and the people of our socialist gains and social benefits which were not dropped on us from the skies but had to be paid for dearly by those who fought for, defended and built the new life. Here as well the party word of the veterans is indispensable. It is the veterans who, like revolutionary gardeners, planted and nurtured the fruitful communist shoots. They know how to compare the past with the present and to see the future beyond current affairs and aspirations."

Veterans, the author points out, "are not chroniclers but makers of history and experienced builders of communism, the new social system. Convinced of the justice of the party's cause and unspoiled by a careless life, they will become even more active in resolving national economic problems and in the education of the new man."

The letters of the veterans and other readers reveal concern caused by the aggravated international situation and the steps taken by the administration in Washington, which intensify military hysteria. Engineer A. Yegorov from Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast, CPSU member since 1940, writes that in its hatred of socialism and communism American imperialism shies at nothing: "It would like to burn in a nuclear fire the peoples of the socialist countries and turn them into ashes. For the sake of this monstrous task it is condemning to death its 'nuclear hostages,' the population of the NATO countries and of all of Europe.... In this difficult time for mankind those who live in the capitalist countries must fully realize 'who is who.' They must see who wants to save our planet from doom and who threatens to destroy everything living in it; and who are their friends and their enemies."

L. Sergeyeva (Orekhovo-Zuyevo) writes: "War is a terrible word and inflicts terrible trials to the people. My father did not return from the Great Patriotic War and never knew that he had a daughter... The love of peace felt

by the multinational Soviet people has long been known. Guided by the communist party they will do everything possible to preserve peace on earth."

The readers discuss a wide range of questions. Following are several different but, we believe, noteworthy letters received with the latest mail. V. Khitrov from Taganrog, CPSU member since 1953, agrees with the view of Muscovite Ye. Chechenin, cited in the journal's previous mail survey (No 11, 1983) to the effect that clearly today the state has housing facilities which could satisfy all those who need it. The trouble, V. Khitrov writes, lies in the excessively low, symbolic, rents for public housing, and surplus housing, which creates in a certain segment of the population an unhealthy greater demand: some people try to acquire the largest possible premises by all means at their disposal, while others refuse to move to smaller premises after their families have been reduced for one reason or another.

"The immorality of this phenomenon, basically alien to our socialist consciousness, is that not only moral but sometimes even legal norms are violated. Not so infrequently cases of abuse of official position, bribery, speculations and unearned income by owners of large housing premises, who rent their rooms at arbitrary prices, take place... Yet it is the honest toil of the Soviet people, both users and nonusers of public housing, which is the source of a high share of state subsidies for the maintenance of public housing." The writer raises questions which should be considered by our legal experts and economists.

"KOMMUNIST has always been a friend and adviser in my labor and social activities," writes A. Potemkin (Odessa), CPSU member since June 1941. "I have been reading and subscribing to the journal since 1937, regularly, missing not a single issue since the age of 15. Why is it that today many young people, 25 or 30 years of age, are unfamiliar with it?" In his view, "a liking for the reading of such journals should be instilled in the senior school grades. It is only thus that reading them will become a necessity."

While calling for a broader popularization of KOMMUNIST, the reader condemns occasional efforts at imposing subscription to KOMMUNIST, which is treated as a sort of "supplement" to journals aimed at the mass readership. This faulty practice is occasionally mentioned in the letters. Thus, B. Shalin, shop foreman at the Aviation Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze in Gorkiy, reports that his subscription to the journal NAUKA I ZHIZN' was accepted only providing that he would subscribe to KOMMUNIST as well. The party gorkom, which considered his letter on the request of the editors, took proper steps and strictly warned of the inadmissibility of violating the principle of voluntary subscription.

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